THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CORRELATES OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN A NORTHERN THAI COMMUNITY

by

Christine MOUGNE

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ABSTRACT

In this study, changes in the social and economic structure of a Northern Thai community are analysed in terms of demographic change. Although primarily an empirical study, it is hoped also to contribute to two associated theoretical problems. The first concerns the relationship between economic and demographic change in the process of social evolution. It is argued that rather than one or other variable being 'independent', such changes are a result of complex interaction between the variables over time. The second stems from the debate on the nature of Northern Thai social structure. Here the value of incorporating an analysis of demographic change in an anthropological study is exemplified by the evidence that apparent inconsistencies and contradictions found in the literature on communities in Northern Thailand can be explained to a large extent by an examination of their individual demographic histories.

Fieldwork was conducted in Ban Pong Village in Chiengmai Province of Northern Thailand between 1972 and 1974. Following settlement of the village in the 1880s, the valley was gradually cleared for irrigated rice cultivation by a slowly growing population of migrants. Dominance by a minority of the population of the important local trade in fermented tea in the 1920s and 1930s at a time when land resources in the Valley were almost exhausted and economic conditions had forced a number of farmers to sell their land, opened the way to the extreme economic polarization found in the community today. The problems facing the community have been compounded by the rapid growth of population occurring since the early 1950s, which is largely the result of a decline in infant mortality. A family planning programme introduced to Ban Pong in 1967 provoked an immediate response, and within two years over 40% of fertile married women were using a modern method of birth control. The concomitant changes in marriage and residence patterns are considered in relation to population growth and fertility control.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Chet Gorman and Richard Davis,
Whose scholarship set me a high standard to follow,
And whose love of Thailand inspired
And encouraged me to complete this thesis.
To two friends who are sadly missed at its moment of completion.

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In England my thanks are especially due to my family and friends who have given me encouragement and moral support during the years that it has taken me to complete the thesis. In particular I would like to thank Professor Adrian Mayer, Dr. Christopher Dixon, Walter Irvine and my supervisor Dr. Andrew Turton, for their advice and assistance during the last two years. Finally I am indebted to Natalie Davenport who has typed the thesis with speed, patience and enthusiasm.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis has been written primarily as an empirical study, tracing the changes which have occurred in a village in Northern Thailand, from the time of its settlement in the 1880s, until the early 1970s. The study focusses on change in three major areas. The first, population change, includes analysis of patterns of fertility, mortality, and migration. The second, economic change, deals primarily with patterns of land tenure and labour utilisation, while the third, social change, concentrates on three important and inter-related aspects of Northern Thai social structure - marriage, residence, and domestic spirit cults.

It is hoped, however, that the study will provide much more than just a history of social, economic and demographic change. Wrigley, in his analysis of population change in pre-industrial Europe, has emphasised the value of such a broad-based approach:

> 'The wider value of demographic studies lies in the sensitivity with which a community's demography reflected its economic, social and natural environments. These relationships were two-way. Fertility and mortality were not simply a passive reflection of the general circumstances of a community. They helped in turn to shape those circumstances. (1969:13)

He adds later:

> '(although)...The statistics of population behaviour in the mass are a dry topic treated in isolation,...they measure events which are central to the life of men and women in all ages. Once attention is turned outwards from the events themselves to the social and economic environment in which they occur, the appeal and importance of demography is apparent.' (ibid:28)

In view of the significance of demographic patterns in the process of socio-economic change, it is surprising that most anthropologists have tended to exclude such factors from their analyses. Macfarlane, one of the few scholars to recognise this serious omission (see Macfarlane, 1968), has recently commented:

> 'It would seem that between 1500 and 1640 English populations doubled, an average growth of just 0.5% p.a. Many countries in Asia and Africa and Latin America are now increasing at over 2% p.a. and doubling in 35 years rather than 140. If historians have diagnosed shattering effects from such a relatively small rate of growth, we would expect that anthropologists, often doing fieldwork in societies where birth, marriage and death are so clearly very important would have made observers interested in demography. Extensive analysis of the social framework of reproduction, kinship, marriage and sexual behaviour, did, indeed, emerge. It is one of the blinding effects of a theoretical system that field-workers should have almost entirely managed to miss the most important social change that was occurring in the society around them. (1976:2, my emphasis)

It is hoped that this thesis will go some way towards redressing the balance by highlighting the ways in which demographic patterns have influenced, and been influenced by, social and economic changes taking place in the community.

Some of the more important theoretical and practical problems which may account for the general lack of demographic analysis in anthropology are discussed by Macfarlane (ibid.:5-7). However, perhaps one major reason for the 'oversight' is the complexity of the relationship between population and socio-economic change. Indeed, the greatest obstacle encountered in the early stages of writing this thesis, was the problem of presenting a body of data which are linked together at many different levels and in many different ways. Wrigley has described this problem:

> '...the interconnection between economic, social and demographic affairs is so intimate that but for the convenience of initial exposition there is little to be said for establishing in print clear cut divisions which hardly exist in the complexity of any given pre-industrial society. Relationships of cause and connections of function extend to and fro between elements in a bewildering way, so that clarity and comprehensiveness are in constant tension in any exposition in this sector of history.' (1969:142)

Nevertheless, attempts have been made by scholars in other disciplines, notably economists, to unravel this web of confusion, by isolating one or other of the components involved as the determinant, or independent variable. It is not appropriate here to present a comprehensive review of the literature, since this has already been done by others (see for example Macfarlane, 1976:292-312), and I intend simply to summarise the main points as a background to my own approach. The first contributor to this debate, which has continued to arouse interest and controversy for almost two hundred years, was Malthus, whose 'Essay on the Principle of Population' was first published in 1798. The basis of Malthus' argument, was that an increase in productivity inevitably leads to growth of population. Consequently, any advantage gained by expansion of the resource base is soon absorbed by population increase. Whilst accepting the possibility that population growth can itself stimulate agricultural development, Malthus argued that this is not always the case, and where it fails to occur, population increase will eventually be curtailed by 'misery or vice' (1969:13). Thus, although recognising that the relationship between demographic and economic factors can work in both directions, Malthus asserts that change in agricultural production is, more often than not, the primary causal factor upon which population change is dependent.

The problems and limitations of Malthus' basic argument have been dealt with in detail in the literature (see for example Boserup, 1965:11-12, Wrigley, 1969:51, and Macfarlane, 1976:295-299). One of Malthus' major critics, whose work has itself become the centre of considerable controversy, is Boserup, who has gone so far as to completely reverse his hypothesis, by postulating a line of causation in which population growth is the independent variable, and, as such, the major determinant of agricultural development (1965:11). Boserup argues her case on the basis of a continuum of intensity of land-use, ranging from shifting long-fallow to multi-cropping in fixed fields. She writes:

> '...the new approach to agricultural development which is signalled by the concept of frequency of cropping draws attention to the effects upon agricultural technology which are likely to result from population changes. This is in sharp contrast to the usual approach which takes agricultural technology as a largely autonomous factor in relation to population changes.' (ibid.:14)

Central to Boserup's approach is the argument that population increase, and the achievement of a critical population density, is the necessary catalyst for technological change in agriculture (ibid.:41). Thus in certain circumstances the potential to intensify production, in terms of particular knowledge or technology, may already be in existence, but will not be adopted until the population reaches a certain size. Although acknowledging the possibility that population growth may occur in a situation where the potential to intensify production is <u>not</u> present, Boserup does not go into any detail about the likely consequences. She states simply that apart from accepting a decline in output per man-hour, the only other possible outcome would be a reduction in the length of fallow, leading to a decline in yields, which in turn would lead eventually either to large-scale migration or starvation in the community (ibid.:41-42).

Like Malthus, Boserup has been criticised on many of the basic tenets of her hypothesis (see Macfarlane, 1976:299-302, and Grigg, 1979). Nevertheless, most of her critics, like those of Malthus, have conceded that in certain situations, and under certain conditions, some aspects of her argument are valid. I would suggest that the reason why Malthus and Boserup can both be right, in specific instances, is that they have each identified distinct areas of interaction from within the complex totality of relationships between population and socio-economic change, discussed earlier. As I hope to show in this thesis, it is indeed possible to isolate situations where one type of change has resulted directly from change in another variable, but the identification of such a relationship provides no more than a partial picture. The analysis of change in a single community, over a comparatively short period of time, presented in the following chapters will, I hope, provide strong evidence of the complexity of interaction between these variables.

Nevertheless, the problem of presenting a comprehensive analysis of multidimensional change, remains. One recent contribution, which has broadened considerably the scope of analysis, has been made by Grigg, who approaches the problem by analysing symptoms of, and responses to, population pressure. Although, like Boserup, Grigg takes population growth as the major independent variable, he greatly enriches his analysis by recognising that agricultural communities experiencing increasing population growth may respond not only by changing their farming methods, but also by limiting their numbers (Grigg, 1980:15). Grigg's analysis is also very much more sensitive to internal variations than Boserup's. Of particular relevance to my own material is his recognition that:

> '...different communities will accept different standards of living and thus there will be a time lag between onset of population pressure and the agricultural or demographic response.' (ibid.:16)

Furthermore, whilst recognising that pressure on resources is primarily a result of population growth, Grigg acknowledges that uneven distribution of resources, and inadequate technology, have also contributed significantly to the problems of rural poverty (ibid.:7-8). As we shall see later, in the case of the field-study village, Ban Pong, problems of landlessness and tenancy had developed long before population growth became a problem in the area.

Grigg begins his analysis by attempting to define 'overpopulation' and 'population pressure'. Again, the complexity of relationships between critical variables involved greatly hinders the construction of a clear definition. Grigg concludes, however:

> '...(that) because it is not easy to define or measure overpopulation it does not follow that rural overpopulation does not exist. <u>If population growth occurs in simple peasant societies without adequate technological and institutional change, then there are adverse effects on land tenure, farm size, social structure and land use.</u>' (ibid.:19, my emphasis)

In the absence of a generally applicable definition of population pressure, Grigg suggests instead that overpopulation in any given agrarian society may be identified by the presence of a number of 'symptoms' of overpopulation (ibid.:20-28), which are summarised briefly below.

Increased population in a situation of finite land resources, especially where partible inheritance is practised, usually leads to subdivision of landholdings[1]. Furthermore, overpopulation can result in fragmentation of holdings, which in turn can cause a general reduction in efficiency in terms of time and land wasted[2], while pressure on land resources in areas where land has acquired a monetary value, generally leads to rising land prices and rentals. Landlessness is another symptom of overpopulation, whether it is simply the result of population increase, or the expropriation of land, and the accumulation of large holdings by a small section of the community. Growing landlessness can lead to competition for tenancies and labouring work, falling wages, and increasing un- and under-employment. A further symptom of population pressure suggested by Grigg, which contradicts Boserup's main hypothesis, is that an oversupply of cheap wage labour can retard the adoption of labour-saving machinery, thus impeding technological progress. Finally, population increase can also lead to the clearance of marginal lands, which in turn can result in declining yields, and the destruction of soil fertility.

Having identified the major symptoms of overpopulation in agrarian societies, Grigg goes on to discuss the possible consequences:

> '...clearly a community threatened with overpopulation, in which average output per head is beginning to decline, does have a number of possible ways of arresting this decline...It may reduce its population - or at least retard the rate of population increase- by limiting births, or by emigration...Alternatively it may seek to increase its income by increasing output in agriculture and by turning to alternative sources of income... These two approaches are not mutually exclusive. Any agricultural community may, in the face of population pressure, combine birth control, emigration, and improved farming methods to regain the optimum.' (ibid.:29).

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[1] Although this process results inevitably in a general decline in the total productivity of individual farming households, productivity per unit of land may in fact rise as a consequence of greater input of labour.

[2] Fragmentation of land can however be a positive factor in the short term, in certain circumstances, particularly in areas where land is irrigated and water supply varies from one field to another (ibid.:23).

In the short term, agricultural output can be increased by a number of different methods in the absence of significant technological advance (ibid.:29-39). For example the area under cultivation may be expanded, frequency of cropping might be increased, higher yielding crops might be substituted, or there may be an increase in the input of labour[1]. Minor modifications of farming implements, improvement of soil fertility by the application of manure, or increased intensity of weeding, can all contribute to a slow but steady increase in output[2].

In most cases, however, such production responses do not provide a long-term solution to rapid and continuing population growth. Nevertheless, communities experiencing population pressure might also respond by making demographic adjustments (ibid.:40-47). Control of fertility, by such means as an increase in the average age at first marriage, or in the proportions remaining single, prolonged post-partum abstinence and lactation, coitus interruptus, abortion or infanticide, has been observed widely in pre-industrial societies[3]. A population might also respond to pressure on resources by increasing the rate of emigration, to exploit new lands in other rural areas, to the cities, or overseas. The third demographic variable, mortality, was, according to Malthus, the inevitable and ultimate consequence of increasing population pressure, resulting eventually in a return to a viable balance between human and land resources. Grigg, however, differentiates between 'normal' and 'crisis'

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[1] One of the most striking examples of this process is described by Geerz in his analysis of agricultural involution in Indonesia (1971).

[2] For example Grigg reports that wheat yields in England rose from an average of 675 kg/ha to 1410 kg/ha between 1200 and 1820, without any major technological change (ibid.:36).

[3] See Nag (1968), Douglas (1966), Wrigley (1969:108-114) and Spencer (n.d.).

mortality in pre-industrial societies, and argues that the major causes of the latter, starvation (or death from illness related to malnutrition) following poor harvests, and deaths from infectious diseases, are not in any way directly related to overpopulation. Thus he concludes:

> '...if rising mortality did operate to control the rate of population increase as Malthus envisaged, it must have done so through a slow rise of 'normal' mortality, not by the greater frequency of 'crises'.' (ibid.:47)

In the chapters which follow, many of the symptoms of, and responses to population pressure, outlined above, will be discussed in relation to changes occuring in Ban Pong Village. However, the analysis encompasses another important area of change, social structure. In order to demonstrate the way in which social structure can influence, and be influenced by, demographic and economic factors, three important and inter-related variables, marriage, residence, and participation in domestic spirit cults, are investigated. On the basis of changes found to have occurred in Ban Pong, it is argued that variations observed by researchers working in different areas of Northern Thailand are, to a large extent, related to changing economic and demographic factors at the local level. It is hoped that this approach will provide not only an important new insight into the flexibility of Northern Thai social structure, but will also illustrate the considerable value of incorporating quantitative analysis in the study and interpretation of ethnographic material.

The data presented in this thesis also provide new and important evidence relating to another major aspect of population studies which has been the subject of some controversy in the literature. To the outside observer, the acceptance of effective methods of fertility control would appear to be a necessary and beneficial response by impoverished populations which are rapidly outgrowing their resource base. However, most populations in developing countries have consistently resisted the attempts of local governments and other agencies to popularise modern methods of contraception. The consensus of delegates at the 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest was that in the absence of radical socio-economic change, family planning programmes had little hope of stimulating a reduction in birth rates in developing countries (Cassen, 1978:172).

Macfarlane, in his study of the Gurung in Nepal (1976), provides a typical example of a population in which, whilst recognising the problems of rapid population growth in a context of limited resources, and despite the availability of free contraceptives within the village, and the explicit approval of family planning by the most respected village leaders, only a small minority of women, (with an average of 6 living children each), showed any interest in actually using a method (ibid.:238-244). Similar situations have been reported in the majority of developing countries.

Thailand provides a rare and important exception to the rule. An indication of the extraordinarily high motivation to control fertility amongst women throughout Thailand is seen by the fact that for several years prior to the introduction of the Government Family Planning Programme, at a time when public communication of information about family

planning was banned by law, thousands of women from all over the country made their way to Bangkok, to seek help from the Kingdom's first contraceptive clinic[1].

The field village, Ban Pong, is ideally suited to an investigation of the causes and consequences of this phenomenon, since it was the first village in Northern Thailand to be selected for a pilot family planning programme, in 1967. Although an exhaustive analysis of all of the factors involved in the success of this programme is beyond the scope of this thesis, I hope nevertheless to provide some of the answers by relating contraceptive acceptance to other significant social, economic and demographic changes occurring in the community.

The thesis includes nine chapters. In Chapter 1, the history of population movement and change in Northern Thailand is examined with particular emphasis on the fact that until comparatively recently, land has been plentiful, while labour was the major scarce resource. During recent decades this situation has been reversed, and it is the causes and consequences of this reversal which form the basis of the analysis presented in the remainder of this thesis.

In Chapters 2, 3 and 4, changing patterns of fertility, mortality and migration in Ban Pong are investigated. The part played by each of these important demographic variables in the rapid growth of population which has occurred in recent years, and their contribution to the present-day population structure of the community, are discussed in detail. Major causative factors which have influenced demographic patterns in the area

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[1] See Chapter 5, p.216, footnote 1.

are also identified, and an attempt is made to relate these patterns to changing socio-economic conditions. Although demographic change is only one of the three main variables analysed in this thesis, it is investigated at somewhat greater length than either social or economic change in view of the fact, discussed earlier, that population factors tend to have been excluded from the majority of anthropological research.

Chapter 5 deals with the introduction of family planning to Ban Pong, and the characteristics of contraceptive acceptors are examined in detail. The demographic impact of widespread practice of birth control in the community is measured, and some of the more important factors which have contributed to the success of the family planning programme are discussed.

Chapter 6 comprises a history of significant factors which have influenced Thailand's economic development over the past hundred years, and conditions affecting the population of the Northern Region are given special attention. The chapter sets the scene for the discussion of changing economic patterns in Ban Pong, which follows in Chapters 7 and 8. In Chapter 7, changing patterns of land tenure in Ban Pong are traced since its settlement in the early 1880s, until the early 1970s, and the factors which have led to high rates of landlessness and tenancy within the present-day community, are discussed. The extent to which farmers have responded to population pressure by intensifying and diversifying agricultural production, the factors limiting such changes, and some of the alternative strategies adopted, are investigated. In Chapter 8, the involvement of Ban Pong villagers in the production and distribution of fermented tea, and the way in which the growth of this important local industry has influenced economic development in the Village, are discussed.

In the final chapter, patterns of marriage, residence and participation in domestic spirit cults in Ban Pong are examined, in the light of demographic and economic changes discussed earlier in the thesis, and the findings are used as a basis for re-examining ethnographic data from other parts of Northern Thailand. The relationship between these elements of Northern Thai social structure, and the major functions of the domestic spirit cults, are reviewed, and a new formulation, involving a focus on the control of labour, is proposed.

CHAPTER 1

A HISTORY OF THE POPULATION OF NORTHERN THAILAND: ITS MOVEMENT AND CHANGE

PLATE 1: Ban Pong Valley before the harvest (November 1972)

1. Introduction

In this introductory chapter, I will discuss several interrelated topics concerning the history of the population of Northern Thailand. In the first section I shall give a short account of the political history of the area, from the first major settlement here of Tai[1] peoples some eight hundred years ago, up to the full incorporation of the region into the Kingdom of Siam at the end of the nineteenth century. In this account I shall stress two main points which have important implications for the thesis as a whole; the first is that until the last quarter of the nineteenth century the North of Thailand had been the centre of almost continual political unrest, a factor which has had significant repercussions on the ethnic makeup of its population, and also on its rate of growth. Secondly, until the twentieth century, the social and economic structures of the Northern Thai population had evolved in a context of scarce human resources and a relative abundance of land. During the course of this century, however, the relationship has been reversed, so that now Northern Thailand has a surplus of manpower and an acute shortage of land. In the second section of this chapter, I will introduce the field site, Ban Pong Village, and present the available information concerning its foundation and early settlement, setting this against the history of the Northern Region as a whole.

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[1] The name 'Tai' is used here to refer to the ethnolinguistic family to which the large majority of the present-day population of Thailand belongs, but which extends from Assam to Tonkin, and from Southern China to Northern Malaya. The two major groups with which I am concerned here are the Siamese and the Northern Thai. The latter, who still prefer to call themselves khon mu'ang or 'people of the principality' as distinct from their national identity as Thais, comprise a number of what were once linguistically and culturally distinct groups, including the Tai Yuan, Lu', Khoen and Yǫng.

In the third section I will discuss patterns of population growth occurring in Thailand over the past hundred years, and the changing attitude of the Thai Government to this growth. I shall then consider population growth in the Northern Region, concentrating particularly on the Province, District and Sub-District in which Ban Pong is situated, in order to determine the extent to which population trends reflect those found at the National level. This final section will provide a background to the detailed analysis of demographic changes occurring in Ban Pong itself, to be discussed in the following four chapters.

1.1 A History of Northern Thailand

The History of Northern Thailand has been one marked by changing fortunes; of conquest and defeat, of progress and decline. The population has, in turns, been besieged and scattered, then drawn together to re-settle and, for a time, to flourish and expand. The critical factor for political power, on which so many Southeast Asian states had always depended, was population. Wars of conquest in the region were rarely concerned with gaining territory. Their aim instead was to capture fighting men to swell the conqueror's army, and families to people the valleys and till the fields to support the state.

The climate and topography of the area did much to shape the social and political organisation from the earliest times. The combination of a marked dry season with an unreliable rainy season, in an area of steep mountain ranges and narrow river valleys, with fast-moving streams liable to violent seasonal flooding, has meant that the control of water resources has been essential to the survival of the valley-dwelling populations. This in turn necessitated cooperation between people numerous enough to organise the construction and maintenance of canals and dams. Thus the irrigation systems were dependent on, and also safe-guarded, social and political organisation in the valleys. However, the extent of these systems tended to be limited by the physical constraints of the mountain ranges, as well as by a traditional dislike of government above village level. Consequently, political fragmentation persisted, and was reinforced by the environment (Brailey, 1969)[1].

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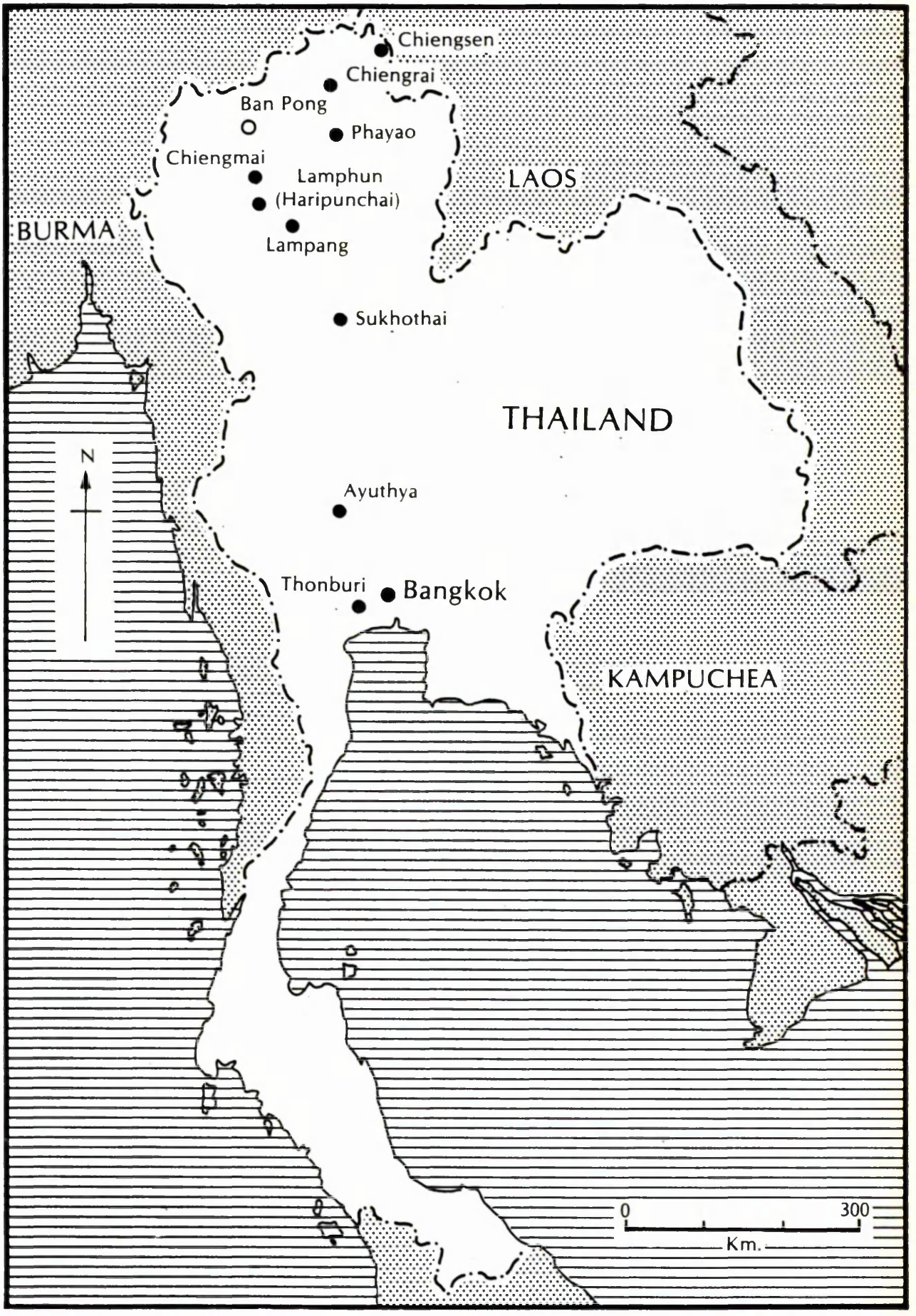
[1] Much of the information included in this Section, unless otherwise stated, is from Brailey (1969).

The earliest known inhabitants of the Northern valleys were the Mǫns whose presence here dates back at least to the seventh century A.D. (Coedes, 1966), and whose centre of power was at the city of Haripunchai, (later known as Lamphunchai and more recently Lamphun), some twenty-five kilometres south of the present-day city of Chiengmai (Map 1). Little is known about Mǫn culture of that period, other than its highly sophisticated irrigation systems, a prime example of which still functions today in the form of a 34-kilometre stretch of canal to the north of Chiengmai city, built by Mǫn corvee labour in the middle of the thirteenth century (Nimmanahaeminda, 1965a).

The precise timing of the first southwards migration of Tai peoples into the area of present-day Thailand is still uncertain, but it would seem likely to have begun several hundred years before their emergence as significant political powers in the thirteenth century (Davis, 1974:26). Their exact origins are also open to question, though linguistic evidence points to the border area to the north of Vietnam, in the south-eastern Chinese provinces of Kwang Tung and Kwang Hsi.

As the power of the ancient Mǫn and Khmer Kingdoms in Southeast Asia, began to wane, the Tai migrants were able gradually to gain control in the region. By the last decade of the eleventh century, the first of a number of small city states under Tai control had been established at Phayao. The first major Siamese state arose in the early years of the thirteenth century, at Sukhothai, formerly an administrative centre of the Khmer Empire, and at the western limit of its sphere of political and cultural influence (Coedes, 1966). Unlike the Northern Thai states to the north and west, Sukhothai was not limited by geographical boundaries, and it was thus able to extend its area of control rapidly south.

MAP 1. GENERAL MAP OF THAILAND



In the second half of the thirteenth century, Mengrai, Prince of the Northern Thai state of Chiengsen, began to move his centre of power, in stages, to the southwest, firstly in 1262 to Chiengrai, and later, in response to the declining power of the Mons, he went on to capture Haripunchai in 1281. Once established there, Mengrai would have been able to evaluate the surrounding territory now under his control. In view of the rich and fertile lands a little to the north, watered by sophisticated Mon irrigation systems, he moved again, finally establishing his capital at Chiengmai in 1296. The valley of the River Ping thus became the centre of the state ruled by Mengrai, the state of Lannathai, 'The Tai Kingdom of a Million Rice Fields', whose power at that time extended to Chiengrai and Chiengsen.

In the final years of the thirteenth century a peace agreement was made between Mengrai, King Ram Kham Haeng of Sukhothai and the king of neighbouring Phayao. Although lasting little more than half a century, this short-lived peace enabled Lannathai to flourish rapidly. The economic prosperity of the newly-founded State was aided and upheld by the maintenance of strict regulations governing the use of the irrigation system. Such regulations, possibly another Mon legacy and supported by supernatural sanctions, ruled that each farmer had a responsibility to his neighbours and to the State, to ensure the fair distribution of water resources, and the upkeep of canals and dams. The critical importance, to the State, of control of water, is evidenced by the severe punishment imposed on offenders, which in some cases involved the death penalty (Nimmanahaeminda, 1965a).

Figure 1

MAJOR EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF NORTHERN THAILAND

Year A.D.	Northern Thailand	Contemporary Siamese History
1000	Movement of Tai peoples from Southern China into Northern Thailand.	
	(Area of Mon control, centred at Haripunchai, since seventh century.)	(Siamese Tai under Khmer suzerainty.)
	1096: Foundation of Phayao.	
1100		
	Development of small city-states at Chiengrai, Chiengsen, etc.	
1200		
	1262: Mengrai, prince of Chiengsen, moves his capital to Chiengrai.	(1257: Siamese of Sukhothai declare independence from Khmer Empire)
	1281: Mengrai conquers Haripunchai.	
	1296: Foundation of Chiengmai.	
1300		
	Peace agreement between Chiengmai, Phayao and Sukhothai.	(1350: Foundation of Ayuthya as capital of Siam.)
	Princes of Lannathai support Sukhothai against Ayuthya.	(1378: Sukhothai becomes vassal of Ayuthya.)
1400		
	Struggle for independence against Ayuthya.	
1500		
	Following years of struggle and a long siege, Siamese finally conquer Chiengmai.	
	1556: Invading Burmese snatch power from Siamese. Burmese princes put on the throne.	
1600		
	Burmese power gradually weakens.	
	Rise in local autonomy.	
	1662: Chiengmai resists attack from the Siamese of Ayuthya.	
	Growing dissatisfaction with the Burmese.	
1700		
	1727: Rebellion against Burmese. Independence.	(1767: Burmese sack Ayuthya. Foundation of Thonburi later same year.)
	1763: Burmese return and conquer Chiengmai.	
	1775: Siamese conquer Chiengmai.	
	1776: Chiengmai abandoned.	(1782: Foundation of Bangkok.)
	1792: Chiengmai resettled under Kawila.	
1800		
	1869-70: Skirmishes with Shan Prince, Kolan.	
	1874: First Resident Commissioner in Chiengmai.	
	Under full Siamese control.	
1900		
	1939: Death of last Prince of Chiengmai.	

Towards the middle of the fourteenth century, the balance of power in the area began to change again. A rival, but hitherto weaker Siamese State, further south in Ayuthya, had been growing in strength as the power of Sukhothai declined. In 1350, Ayuthya was founded as the new capital of Siam. For a short time the princes of Lannathai gave their support to Sukhothai in its struggle against Ayuthya, but in 1378, King Thamarat submitted, and Sukhothai became a vassal to the powerful Central Plains Siamese. The Kingdom of Lannathai had thus become a new target for Siamese expansionism, and a struggle for power began, which was to last for many hundreds of years.

During the fifteenth, and the first half of the sixteenth century, the Siamese fought for control of Lannathai. Each side enjoyed periodic successes, but these tended to be short-lived, as their strengths grew and waned. The intervening lands and peoples changed hands repeatedly. Then, in the mid-sixteenth century, following a long seige of Chiengmai, the Siamese finally succeeded in conquering the weaker state. However, this control was snatched away soon afterwards by the invading Burmese, who conquered Chiengmai in 1556. The son of the King of Burma was put on the throne of Chiengmai, and for the following hundred and fifty years the Burmese enjoyed virtually uninterrupted suzerainty over Chiengmai.

In time the power of the Burmese gradually weakened, and by the middle of the seventeenth century their interest in Chiengmai also began to wane. Apart from the continuing obligation to pay tribute to the suzerain, and to act as a buffer against the Siamese, the Northern Thai had thus regained a degree of autonomy. This desirable situation was a

major factor in their strong resistance of an attack from Ayuthya in 1662, which resulted in their expelling the Siamese two years later. However, contentment with a weak suzerain eventually soured, as decades of tax-paying to an absentee ruler began to weigh upon the people of Chiengmai. In 1727 the Northern Thai rebelled against the weakened Burmese, and declared their independence the following year. However this independence lasted only thirty-five years, as the strength of the State was rapidly dissipated by internal struggles between rival princes.

Meanwhile the Burmese were able to recover their strength, and in 1763 they launched a massive attack, first conquering Chiengmai in that year, then Lamphun two years later, and finally sacking Ayuthya in 1767. At this point Burmese expansionism was cut short by the threat of a Chinese invasion in their Northern territories, and their armies retreated rapidly. The Siamese, despite the total destruction of their capital, were soon re-organised and, under the leadership of Taksin, founded a new capital further south at Thonburi later in the same year.

The following few years were marked by severe political disruption in the North, with power passing from the Burmese, to the Siamese, to the princes of Chiengmai, and back again, in rapid succession. By 1776 the area, by then nominally under Siamese control, had become so unstable that the city of Chiengmai was officially evacuated. Calavan describes vividly the widespread devastation in Northern Thailand at that time:

> '...the Yuan principalities were in a sorry condition because the constant fighting and Burmese oppression had depopulated the countryside and caused great poverty and disorder. Chiengmai had been deserted since the final defeat of the Burmese occupying force in 1774, and the other Northern cities were in some stage of ruin and decay.' (1974:37-38)

Chiengmai remained deserted until 1792 when Kawila, son of the ruler of Lampang, and kinsman by marriage to King Rama I of Siam, was sent by the King to organise the resettlement of the city and its surrounding countryside.

Kawila's reorganisation of the area was interrupted in its early stages by a further series of Burmese attacks, but military aid from Bangkok (which had succeeded Thonburi as capital of the Siamese Kingdom in 1782) enabled the Northerners to resist effectively. Nevertheless, many recent settlers in newly established villages in the outlying districts of the Ping Valley were carried off by the retreating Burmese.

In the following years, Kawila, by now Prince of Chiengmai and Viceroy to the Siamese, embarked upon a series of campaigns to capture or cajole people from the smaller remote Northern towns and villages, in order to repopulate the area under his control.[1] His task was to unite the Northern Principalities against the Burmese, and to provide manpower for defence and the economic support of his government (Calavan, 1974:37). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, with his brothers and other kin in control of key political positions in Chiengmai, Lamphun and Lampang, Kawila had succeeded in his aims, and there followed a new period of peace and security and a revival of local autonomy which was to last for almost three-quarters of a century.[2]

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[1] Davis, in his discussion of the history of Nan Province, describes a similar process for that area during this period (1974:31), and comments that the existence now of villages occupied by people of diverse ethno-linguistic origins, '...attest(s) to the sparseness of the Muang population and the forced migration of hinterland peoples during the early nineteenth century.' (ibid:32)

[2] During this period the States of Chiengmai, Lamphun, Lampang and Nan were all 'semi-independent vassals of Bangkok' (Davis, 1974:32). In fact this meant little more than swearing allegience to the Siamese king, and submitting tribute from time to time (ibid).

Between 1869 and the early 1870s, there was a series of skirmishes between the princes of Chiengmai and the Shan prince, Kolan. Settlements on the periphery of Chiengmai-controlled territory were again subject to frequent attack and loss of population to the invading forces. However, the impact of such raids was fairly localised, and did not seriously threaten the power of the Chiengmai princes who, although nominally under the control of the Siamese since 1775, had maintained complete authority and power over life and death until this time.

However, in 1874 this power was severely curtailed following the appointment, by King Chulalongkorn, of the first resident commissioner in Chiengmai[1]. One reason for this sudden policy change was that by this time Bangkok was under heavy pressure from foreign powers to take greater control over its Northern territories in order to exploit their valuable teak forests to supply a growing international market. To ensure political stability, and to facilitate access to and transportation of these resources, the Siamese had first to assume complete control of the area, and then to encourage the development of its distant frontiers and more remote parts of the countryside (Calavan, 1974:61). Another reason was the Siamese government's desire to stem the growing colonial threat, with the French laying claim to more and more territory to the east, in Cambodia and later in Laos, and the British expanding their power to the west in Burma (Davis, 1974:26).

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[1] However, it was not until the death of Prince Kaeo Nawarat in 1939 that the office of the Prince of Chiengmai lapsed. No successor was appointed. (Brailey, 1969)

Thus the final decades of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of a new phase in the history of Northern Thailand as the population was increasingly and irrevocably drawn into the Siamese bureaucratic system. The descendants of people such as the Thai Yai and the Thai Lu' who, one hundred years earlier had been forced to come from outlying lands and settle close to the urban centres of Chiengmai and Lamphun, were now encouraged to return to their traditional homelands in the far northern territories of Siam. The opportunity to leave the poor dry lands around Lamphun for the more fertile lands further north, was sufficient incentive for many of these farmers to obey the royal command (Nimmanahaeminda, 1965b). This process of dispersal of the population and opening up of frontier areas continues to the present day, though now it is the pressure of population in more long-settled areas which leads to such migratory patterns (see Chapter 4).

The effects of centuries of population movement, for the most part enforced, has been the creation of a highly variable mixture of what were once culturally distinct populations (see p.35, footnote 1, above), Thus while we still find isolated pockets, and occasionally considerable concentrations, of Yuan, Lu', Khoen, Yǫng and other groups scattered throughout the region, in most areas they have merged to create the generalised khon mu'ang or Northern Thai population. Thus what were once divergent customs and beliefs have been crystallized into a seemingly homogenous and integrated system. However this process of integration[1], imposed upon the peoples of Northern Thailand by successive external powers over a period of hundreds of years, would no doubt have met with considerable resistance, and with variable success, hence the numerous

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[1] In present-day Thailand the process continues as the government attempts to integrate the more recently arrived tribal populations living in the mountains of the North.

anomalies which emerge from the study of different communities in the area.

The importance of the control of manpower throughout the early history of the Tai states in Southeast Asia, as evidenced by the repeated dispersal or regrouping of the peasant population according to the prevailing policies and strategies of successive political powers, was reflected in the development of the 'estate'[1] system, described here by Calavan:

> 'In Northern Thailand the system of administration was not as elaborate as in Central Thailand. The system appears more like the earlier Ayudhyan system of territorially arranged master and commoner relationships. The ruler of the principality...was technically the ultimate nai of all the phai commoners in his territorial jurisdiction. They all owed some kind of service to him. One type was military service...Another...was that provided by craftsmen and other specialists...Another type of service was that provided by most commoner farmers in the rural areas. This was agricultural corvee labor in the royal fields...and the corvee labor on the irrigation system necessary for wet-rice cultivation.' (1974:47-48)

At the local level most farmers lived under the jurisdiction of a resident administrator who acted as intermediary between the commoners and the princes, cao chiwit ('Lords of Life'). Apart from organising those under his charge for corvee labour and military service, the local administrator was also responsible for settling disputes and providing assistance in times of stress (ibid:71). Thus, by providing commoners with support and a degree of security, the princes were able to maintain control over the manpower which was so crucial to the state. This point is emphasised by Calavan:

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[1] This term is used by Calavan to describe the traditional system of differentiation of various sections of Thai society on the basis of discrete socio-economic functions and associated rights and obligations (1974:6).

> 'The estate system determined...who had control of which resources, particularly the manpower of the state. Unlike European feudalism the system of organization of Thai society was not based on access to land, because anyone - an aristocrat, a noble, a commoner or an unfree person - could have full possession of land which he had cleared and cultivated himself or had been cleared and cultivated by others in his service. Suitable land for wet-rice cultivation was not scarce in traditional Central Thailand and in the Northern Principalities. The scarce resource and, thus, the real measure of wealth and power, was the number of one's clients - the amount of manpower one controlled. (ibid:44-45. My emphasis)

However, along with the pacification of the North, and the unification of the Siamese nation, the closing years of the nineteenth century also saw the end of this important administrative structure. The abolition of the 'estate' system was devised by King Rama V as part of his 'modernisation' programme, the aim of which was to protect the Kingdom against growing pressures from the West. The process of dismantling the system inevitably took longer in the North than in the more readily accessible Central Plains, but officially at least all vestiges of the system were eradicated by the second decade of the twentieth century.

This administrative reform would have had significant repercussions at the local level. It has been suggested that corvee obligations involved many farmers in absences from home of as much as six months in a year, and for even longer periods at times of prolonged warfare (Ramsay, 1976: 28), a situation which would inevitably have influenced many aspects of social and economic organisation within villages. The removal of this obligation, which meant that men were now, theoretically at least, full-time residents of their home villages, is likely to have substantially affected elements of the traditional social and economic framework.[1]

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[1] It is also likely that the cessation of the corvee labour system would have led to a significant increase in fertility rates.

The twentieth century has brought to Northern Thailand changes which have been as dramatic and far-reaching in their effects on the population as any other in its stormy history. Years of comparative peace, combined with the spread of public health measures and other benefits of development, have contributed to an unprecedented growth of population in the area. Within thirty years of the end of the Second World War, the relationship between human and land resources in the area has been completely reversed. Rapid growth of population has meant that the traditional scarce resource, manpower, has within less than one century become an economic liability. At the same time land, once plentiful and freely available to anyone who was able to clear it, has become extremely scarce. As a result, access to land is now a matter for conflict and competition in a way similar to access to manpower in former times. It is the consequence of these changes, and the way in which they have influenced social and economic behaviour at the village level, which is to be the central theme of this thesis.

1.2 The Foundation of Ban Pong Village

Travelling due north from Chiengmai, on the road to Fang, one reaches after some forty kilometres a junction with a track to the east. For four or five kilometres this rough and dusty road[1] winds its way uphill and across a plateau, through sparse scrubland, interspersed with an occasional field of struggling upland crops, before descending steeply into a small river valley, its centre golden with rice ready for

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[1] Since the completion of my fieldwork, this road has been levelled and tarred, following a visit of the King of Thailand to the valley in 1975 (see Appendix 7).

harvesting. Around the perimeter of the rice fields is a dark green circle of trees, stretching the full length and breadth of the valley. Thin wisps of smoke rising above the trees are the first sign of the villages nestling in their shade (see Plate 1). At the edges of the valley, to the north and east, the hills rise steeply into dense forest, the blackness broken here and there by the light green of upland fields. Flowing down the length of the valley is the Ping River, the major river of the Chiengmai Basin, on its way south. The dusty track cuts a bright red line through the laterite soils across the valley to the east, before it disappears into the distant hills.

Ban Pong Valley, named after one of its larger villages, stretches some twelve kilometres from north to south, and about seven kilometres at the widest point from east to west (Map 2). The average elevation in the valley is 340m., and the surrounding uplands range from 410m. to 515m. In the early 1970s, the Valley was the home of over 20,000 people living in about forty villages. All available irrigable land was under cultivation in the rainy season, and in the dry season those areas closest to the canals or the river were planted with cash crops including tobacco, chilli, garlic and soya beans.

A hundred years earlier the Valley would have looked very different; apart from a few settlements in the southeastern section, the land was covered with dense jungle, the haunt of much wild-life, such as large and small species of deer, wild pigs, wild dogs, and even the occasional leopard, tiger or wild elephant. The history of such remote and non-strategic valleys was never written down[1], and can only be reconstructed

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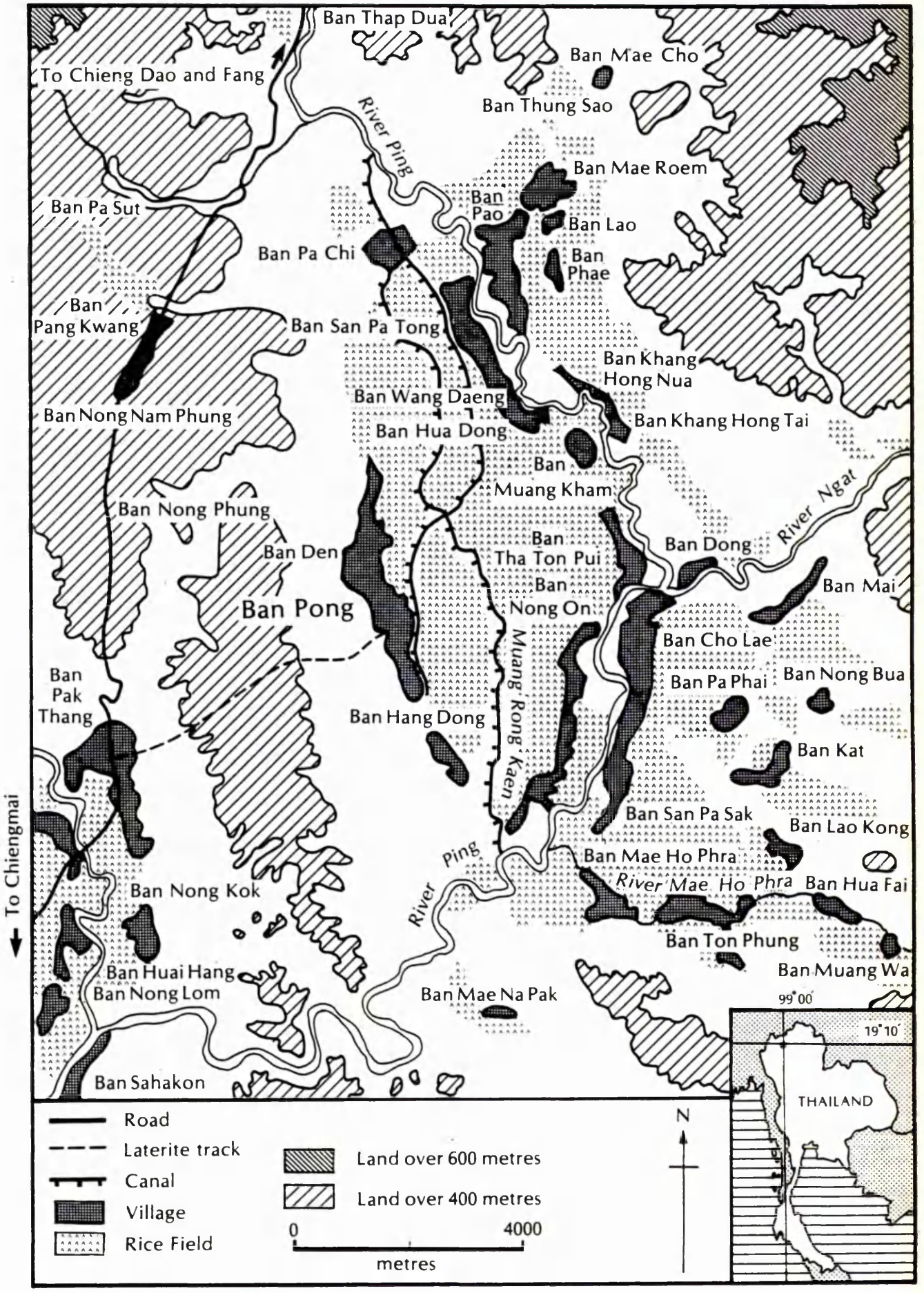
[1] For examples of other reconstructed micro-histories see Hanks (1972) on the Village of Bang Chan in Central Thailand, and Calavan (1974) on Upper and Lower Villages in Saraphi District of Chiengmai.

MAP 2. LOCATION AND SETTING OF BAN PONG VALLEY



by piecing together first and second-hand reports from the oldest of its present-day inhabitants. Phǫ Nan Srithǫn, a former monk and one of Ban Pong's wealthiest old men[1], first came to Ban Pong from Doi Saket District as a novice in 1910. An educated and intelligent man, with a great interest in local history, he was able to supplement his own early memories with stories he had heard from the first settlers, some of whom were still alive in his youth. Ban Pong village, he said, was founded in the early 1880s, as part of the planned resettlement of the more remote parts of Chiengmai Province under the order of King Rama V (see p. 46 above). Cao Kaeo Nawarat, the Governor of Chiengmai at the time, called for a survey to be made of the valley to investigate its suitability for settlement. On the basis of the survey, the plan went ahead under the leadership of three minor officials of the Chiengmai Administration - Thao Caroen Takhin, Phǫ Saen Klangcai and Doem Pu Saen Intha'[2]. A thousand rai were to be cleared eventually for rice cultivation, the officials each receiving 40-50 rai, while the luk mu fai, those commoners under their command who took responsibility for the construction and maintenance of the irrigation system, were each allotted 10-20 rai.

Life in those first few years of settlement was hard. It seems that they lacked even the most basic supplies since, until the first rice could be harvested, the settlers were forced to subsist on kǫi[3], a type of yam, which involves very lengthy preparation to render it edible.

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[1] See Case 3, Chapter 7, pp. 309-311.

[2] The titles thao and saen are listed in the roster of sakdina ranks for the outside provinces of Siam in 1900 (see Calavan, 1974:51). Such junior civil servants were commonly given the task of settling the less strategic outlying areas (Brailey, 1969).

[3] kǫi, C. Thai klǫi: 'Dioscorea demona (Discoraceae), a climber belonging to the yam family; a poisonous plant with large, variegated leaves, the tapers of which are edible but which, even after proper boiling, are very nauseous.' (McFarlane, 1960:59)

W.J. Archer, in his report of a journey through Chiengmai in 1888, gives an account of the process of foundation of such settlements:

> '...The site having been fixed upon, the laborious task of clearing the jungle is begun; all, or nearly all, the trees are felled, the roads are marked out, and alongside the settlers are allowed to choose a piece of ground. A rough shanty is generally put up at first, and round it are planted bananas and other quick-growing plants;...Many of the new-comers first reside in the capital[1], but as by degrees they have the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the surrounding country, they begin by cultivating the most promising land in the neighbourhood; others join them and thus villages are founded, and when a longer residence and increased population have given rise to a feeling of greater confidence and security, settlements are gradually formed further from the capital.' (1888:3)

The opening up of Ban Pong Valley would have followed a similar pattern as new villages, further north and east of Ban Pong, were settled[2]. According to Phǫ Nan Srithǫn, as the forest was cleared, bit by bit, and the land levelled for wet-rice fields, the settlers began to discover evidence of a former occupation of the Valley. Gold artifacts, coins, pots and pipe bowls were dug up, as well as stone, boat-shaped coffins. The ruin of an ancient temple building was found amidst the dense undergrowth, and is still partly visible today. Fear of desecration of sacred remains has left it undisturbed within its protective armour of brambles and vines.

Another important finding, recovered from the jungle by the followers of Thao Caroen Takhin, was a stone pillar bearing ancient, as yet undeciphered inscriptions. Today the pillar is located in one of the northern-most villages in the Valley, and is looked upon as a symbol of

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[1] Presumably refers to the primary settlement.

[2] Although no survey of the foundation of villages in the province has, to my knowledge, been carried out, it is likely that in the majority of cases settlement would have been spontaneous rather than planned. See Calavan's account of the settlement of another village in Chiengmai Province (1974:96-101).

unity, and as the shrine of the spirits of the Valley. The pillar is mentioned in a recent account of excavations in the Mae Taeng District, and is offered as an explanation for the origin of the name Inthakhin, given to the sub-district of which Ban Pong is the principal village:

> 'The word inthakhin is used by villagers to mean 'pillar of stone' which is why the tambon[1] has been named tambon Inthakhin... They believe that it was a lak mu'ang[2] in ancient times. This pillar of stone was dug up in tambon Inthakhin.' (Satraphai, 2520:112. My translation.)

Perhaps the most exciting discovery made by the early settlers would have been an old disused canal, stretching from the northern-most point at which the Ping River enters the Valley, down the full length of the Valley to re-join it in the south below its confluence with the river Gnat (Map 2). To this day the canal is known as mu'ang rong kaen.[3]

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[1] i.e. sub-district.

[2] lak mu'ang, lit. 'city post'.
For discussion see Turton (1972 and 1978), also Notton (1932).
Inthakhin, from Pali, inda (Indra) and kila (post or pillar).
According to Delaney, referring to the generalised tradition of inthakhin in Northern Thailand:

> 'The myths and legends...associate the Intakila column with both protection from external sources, such as warring tribes, and the assurance of internal well-being, prosperity and riches. The column clearly symbolized the cult of Indra (especially in his role as defender and disseminator of the Doctrine) and the basic link between Buddhist piety and environmental vitality.' (1977:185)

In view of this traditional significance of the Inthakhin pillar for community-based ritual, it would seem highly appropriate to have chosen such a name for a new group of settlements founded after centuries of political unrest. An alternative, but less plausible, account of the naming of the sub-district, was given by several elderly informants, who claimed that the word inthakhin was simply derived from the names of two of the founding fathers, Intha' and Takhin.

[3] Note that in this system of transliteration mu'ang (mid-tone) meaning 'State' or 'principality' and mu'ang (rising tone) meaning 'canal', are indistinguishable. For a discussion of Ban Pong's irrigation system see Appendix 7.

According to Phǫ Nan Srithǫn, the canal is so named after a certain Phra' Cao Sam Fang Kaen[1], who, he claims, had founded an ancient city-state in the Valley after the time of King Mengrai. Mu'ang Kaen, as the state was called, had apparently extended right across the Valley from the west down to the southeastern extremities. It appears that the state had prospered for many hundreds of years until it was finally devastated by the Burmese, in the second half of the eighteenth century (see p.43 above). The population had either been taken into slavery by the conquering army, or had fled to the hills. According to Phǫ Nan Srithǫn, the entire Valley was then deserted for over one hundred years until the new settlers arrived in the 1880s.

However there is evidence to suggest Phǫ Nan Srithǫn's account may not have been entirely accurate, at least on this final point. Several English writers, visiting Northern Thailand towards the end of the last century, refer to the existence, at that time, of a group of settlements known as Mu'ang Kaen. Archer, on his journey north from Chiengmai in 1888, gives the following account:

> 'Leaving Chiengmai on the 2nd February, my route lay almost directly north and close to the course of the Më Ping as far as Müang Gnai. Between the river and Doi Süthëp, the lofty mountain that overlooks Chiengmai on the west, are numerous villages or isolated dwellings, with rich rice fields extending as far and even a short way beyond the Më Lim; this and the Më Tëng, a large river a little further north, are the principal affluents of the Më Ping from the mountainous country on the north-west. Soon after crossing the Më Lim, the cultivation gives way to a long tract of forest extending beyond the Më Tëng as far as the plains of Chiengdao. With the exception of a few solitary hamlets this region appears to be uninhabited, but there is more cultivation, I believe, on the left bank, in the populous districts of Müang Kën and Müang Prao.' (1888:2)

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[1] A king of the same name is recorded as being the 11th King of the Mengrai Dynasty, 733 Culasakarat (1371 A.D.) in Phongsawadan Phrayapra'chakitcakǫnak (2515). According to Notton (1932), Phra' Cao Sam Fang Kaen was crowned in 1401 A.D. However, no reference to Mu'ang Kaen is made in either account.

Another writer, Holt S. Hallett, visiting the area at about the same time as Archer, actually records his crossing of Ban Pong Valley, and his visit to one of the settlements in Mu'ang Kaen:

> 'A little beyond Ban Huay Ngao, we began to cross the plateau-topped spurs from Loi Chaum Haut, which, with the spurs from the eastern range, draw in and enclose the Meh Gnat in a defile...From the crest of the final spur, we had a magnificent view across the plain of Muang Ken to the plateau-topped hill, Loi Tat Muang Ken, which partly separates it from the Zimme plain. Over the end of the hill and beyond it the splendid panorama extended over the broken hills lying to the west of the Meh Ping, and stretched as far as the eye could reach up the valley of the Meh Teng...Bang Perng lies 21 miles from Zimme, and is the principal village of Muang Ken, and the head-quarters of the governor...He (the governor) said that his Muang contained about 400 houses, and over 400 fighting men.[1] The people gained their livelihood by cultivating rice, pepper, tobacco and fruit trees (chiefly oranges), and by fishing.' (1890:368-9)

Ban Kat and Ban Lao Kǫng, two of the villages noted by Hallett as being part of Mu'ang Kaen at that time are still in existence today, in the southeastern part of the valley (see Map 2, and Hallett, 1890:315)[2].

It seems surprising that the early settlers of Ban Pong were unaware of these sizeable settlements only a few kilometres across the valley, but Phǫ Nan Srithǫn insisted that he had heard no reports of their existence at that time. Perhaps several kilometres of dense jungle and the fast-flowing river which cuts the valley in two, could account for the discrepancy.

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[1] If the governor's figures were correct, this would have meant a total population of at least 2000, similar in size to the present-day village of Ban Pong.

[2] The village referred to by Hallett as the principal village in Mu'ang Kaen, Ban Perng, is not identifiable from modern maps, nor does its name resemble that of any other present-day village in this part of the Valley. In his map of the area Hallett has plotted all villages in Mu'ang Kaen in the far southeastern corner of the Valley, in the vicinity of the Mae Hǫ Phra' river (Map 2), and thus there is no possibility of Ban Perng having been confused with Ban Pong on the far western edge of the Valley, which had been settled a few years prior to Hallett's visit.

Whether or not these villages had survived in isolation since the time of the Burmese attack in the second half of the eighteenth century, or whether they represent a later, independent settlement of the Valley, which had adopted the name of the old state, is unknown. However, whatever the situation may have been in the southeastern section of the Valley, it would seem that the area to the west of the River Ping, through which runs the main Rong Kaen canal, had at one time been a major rice-producing area within Mu'ang Kaen, but had been completely abandoned from the time of the Burmese attack until the arrival of the new settlers over one hundred years later.

1.3 Population Change in Thailand

The prolonged political instability which has been a major feature throughout the history of Thailand as a whole, and the Northern Region in particular, until the present century, is likely to have radically influenced the growth and structure of its population. The ravages of war, conquest, epidemics and periodic food shortages, would have resulted in violent fluctuations in death rates, while the capture and removal of peoples by invading forces would have decimated sections of the population at various points in time. Unfortunately, the absence of any accurate figures of Thailand's population size prior to the beginning of the twentieth century renders the task of reconstructing its demographic history highly speculative.

Even population estimates for the nineteenth century, numerous though they are, are questionable in terms of their accuracy and comparability. One problem in the validity of such figures is the diversity of sources; for example, some population estimates were produced for taxation purposes, others for military conscription, while others were no more than rough guesses made by foreign travellers. Furthermore, since the present-day boundaries of Thailand were not stabilized until as recently as 1909, the nineteenth century estimates inevitably refer to a variable geographical area. Consequently, any attempt to evaluate population trends in Thailand during the last century, should be made bearing such considerable limitations in mind.

Even so, the enormous range of estimates for the population of Thailand at particular times during the last century, remains disconcerting. For example, the Thai population of 1820 is reported as being as low as 2,700,000 or as high as 5,000,000; in 1860 the estimates range from 3,000,000 to 7,000,000, and in 1900 from 4,000,000 to an incredible 12,000,000! (Thomlinson, 1972:21). The general consensus however, is that for the country as a whole, population growth during the first half of the nineteenth century was slow, (Skinner, 1957), or more or less static, (Sternstein, 1965), but that growth rates began to accelerate rapidly some time between 1850 and 1880. The important economic factors involved in this growth of population in the second half of the nineteenth century will be discussed later (see Chapter 6).

Since the first National Census of Thailand, conducted in 1911, the trend in population growth can be traced with somewhat greater accuracy[1]. At the first census, the population of Thailand was a little over 8,000,000. Some thirty-five years later, at the post-war census of 1947, the population had more than doubled to over 17,000,000. Thirteen years later, in 1960, it had reached 26,000,000; by 1970, 34,000,000[2], and, according to the Registration data[3], in 1980 the population of Thailand was in excess of 46,000,000. Thus, within seventy years, the population of Thailand has increased almost six-fold.

The growth of Thailand's population (Figure 2), indicates that the rate of population growth was increasing quite rapidly by the turn of the last century, and with added momentum by the 1920s and 30s, a trend which has continued, unabated, at least until the early 1970s. The history of the Thai Government's attitude to its population, and the strategies adopted in this regard, deserve some consideration here, since this shows clearly the way in which traditional ideas about the value of manpower had persisted long after a time when they had become socially and economically inappropriate.

Before the Census of 1919, when the population of Thailand was less than 9 million, the Minister of the Interior stated:

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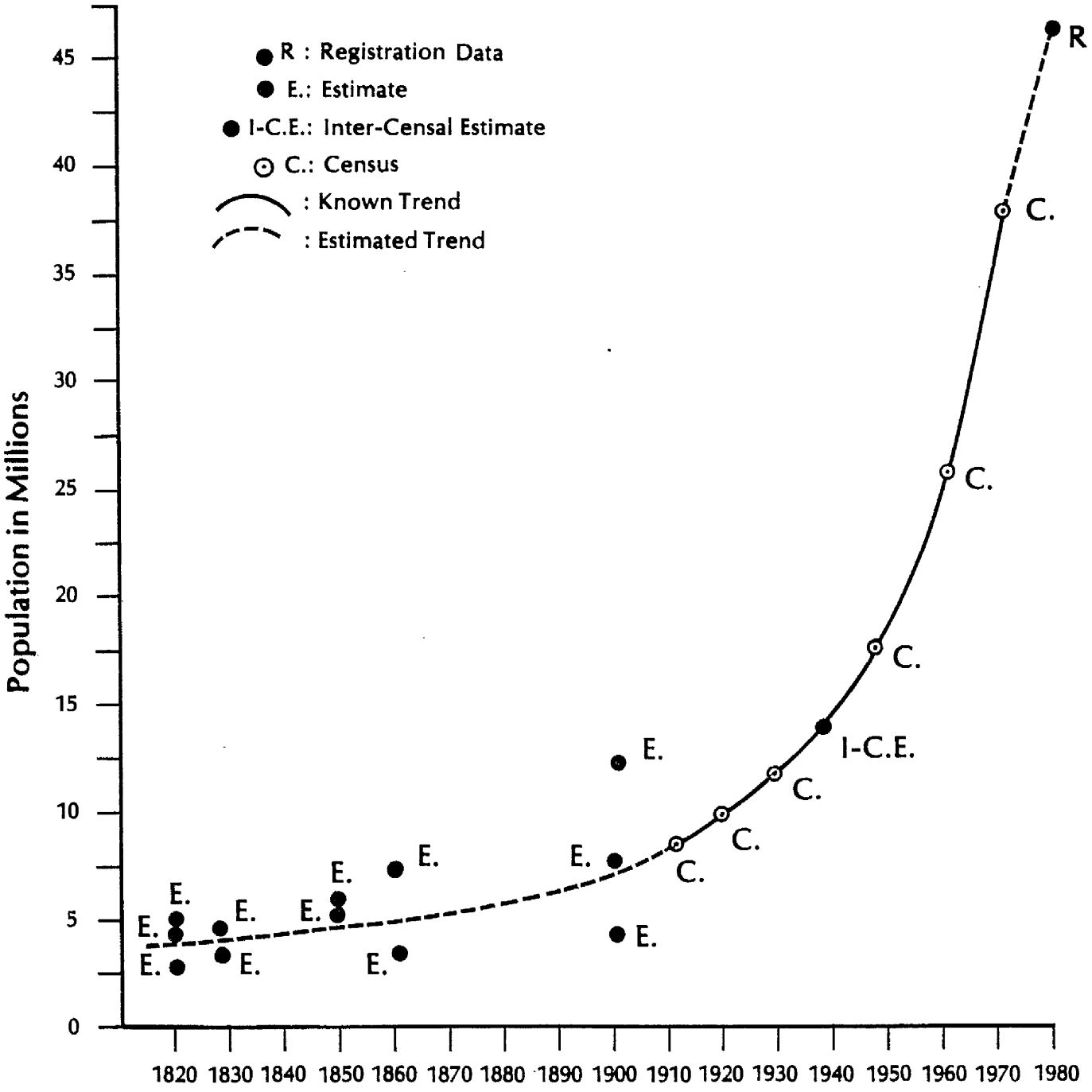
[1] Nevertheless, the rate of error in the more recent censuses is still thought to be considerable (Thomlinson, 1972:24).

[2] Thus the second doubling of the population took only 23 years, indicating a greatly accelerated growth rate after 1947.

[3] The population of Thailand on 31 December, 1979, is given as 46,113,756 by the Registration Department, Ministry of the Interior, Bangkok. This is 3.7 million short of the UN Bulletin of Statistics (1971) population projection for 1980. However, much of this discrepency may be the result of under-registration, and it seems unlikely that growth rates have declined significantly during the decade, in the country as a whole.

Figure 2: Population Growth : Thailand, 1820-1980.



Sources: Thomlinson (1972), Skinner (1957), Ingram (1955), Caldwell (1967), Thailand Population Census (1960), Thailand Population and Housing Census (1970) and Registration Data.

> 'I would say that our country still has a small population relative to the expanse of her land. You can be sure that the land is capable of accommodating no less than 5 or 6 times her present population with no adverse results in the living standards at all. Development of the country, all in all, rests upon the people. On the defence side, a growing population certainly means a growing number of troops. From the macro-economic point of view, increase in population will inevitably encourage the growth of agriculture, commerce and industry, resulting probably in an abundance of goods and services. As we have seen, the Government's national development programmes are financed mainly with reserves from tax sources, which in turn will rise in volume in step with population growth. Thus you will see how essential is the number of people to our national development, and we have to face the problem of how to increase it.' (Quoted in Perkin, 1969. My emphasis.)

During the following decades, the Government introduced a variety of projects aimed to encourage high fertility in the community. One of the major reasons for setting up public health services in Thailand was to reduce mortality in order to increase its rate of population growth. During the Second World War, the Minister for Health appointed a 'Wedding Promotion Committee', whose function was to encourage early marriage by programmes such as nation-wide, simultaneous group wedding services in 1944, and the dissemination of slogans such as, 'Get married young and make the Nation prosper', (Perkin, 1969). In 1942, Prime Minister Phibun Songkram stated that 18 million people were not sufficient to make the country 'a real power', and that at least 100 million would be needed, 'to achieve national greatness'. Under the later administration of Prime Minister Phibun, in 1956, bonuses were authorised for large families under the 'Welfare of Persons with Numerous Offspring Act',[1] (ibid.)

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[1] Whether or not such policies were actually effective in encouraging large families is not documented, though high natural growth rates after 1950 would no doubt have fulfilled the hopes of previous administrations.

The first indication that this pro-natalist attitude was not entirely in the country's best interests, came from a World Bank Economic Survey of Thailand, conducted in 1958, at the request of the Government. The survey revealed that at that time Thailand had over 3 million people in excess of previous forecasts. The World Bank team emphasised the incipient problems of such rapid population growth, on standards of education, public services and housing and, most particularly, on unemployment. When presenting their results to the Government in 1960, the team strongly recommended nation-wide education in birth control methods, and the prompt provision of services, as a first step to alleviating the situation.

The Government responded by ordering the Ministry of Public Health to carry out an independent study of the impact of demographic change in Thailand. The study confirmed the findings of the World Bank team, and stated that if no advance planning were made in areas such as education, industry and agriculture, then the general standard of living of the population would soon begin to decline, rather than rise, as the Government had believed. It, too, recommended the dissemination of information about modern birth control methods among the population, rather than leave them to resort to traditional methods of abortion which were extremely dangerous to maternal health (see Chapter 5, pp.214-215).

The Prime Minister at that time, Marshal Sarit Thanarat, then ordered a further survey, to be conducted on this occasion by the National Research Council and the National Economic Development Board, into the technical principles and facts of the situation. This study came to a

very different conclusion, namely that Thailand should still have sufficient land to accommodate a larger population, and that the population should be left to increase at a high rate, for the benefit of industrial development. According to the report, as soon as the increase reached its 'saturation point', the rate of increase would reduce 'on its own', without necessitating the promotion, by the Government, of birth control, which 'may give rise to immorality' among the population (Unhanand, 1968).

In a compromise resolution, the Cabinet stated in late 1961:

> 'Let birth control be voluntary among the people, who should know their own position as to how many offspring there should be. Advice on birth control may be made, but not overtly.'[1] (Unhanand, 1968:2. My emphasis.)

However, Dr. Amnuay Wirawan, advisor to the Prime Minister at that time, suggested that still further research was needed, since the previous study had concentrated on administration, and not on the critical problem of socio-economic development. Thus, in 1962, the Research Committees of the branches of Economics and Sociology were instructed to make a joint study of the issue.

Early in 1963, this Committee presented its report, with the following observations; first, that the current population growth rate of 3.2% per annum was one of the highest in the world, and the population would continue to increase at this rate if no family planning policy were made.

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[1] This clause opened the way for private family planning clinics to be set up. One of the first was opened at Chulalongkorn Hospital, Bangkok, in 1965, offering inter-uterine devices (IUDs). Despite the total ban on advertising such services, within one year of opening the clinic women from 54 of Thailand's 71 provinces had attended for IUD insertion (Fawcett et al, 1966). See Chapter 5, p.216, footnote 1.

Second, that the increase of population would lead to higher living expenses and a reduction in domestic saving, thus hindering economic progress. Third, that the increased population would need growing supplies of rice to an extent that by 1981 no rice would be left for export, if current growth rates continued; and, finally, that the growing problems of unemployment and inadequate educational and social services would contribute to a decline in the mental, physical and moral health of the country, which would, in the long term, facilitate the 'infiltration of communism' (Unhanand, ibid.).

However, even this report produced no immediate results. There followed months of proposals and consideration of proposals, of schemes for action submitted to various committees, but no practical steps were taken. Late in 1965, a National Seminar on Population was held, and those present reached the conclusion, so frequently voiced during the previous seven years, that family planning on a national scale was essential if the Government's economic goals were to be achieved. Despite this resolution, the Cabinet declared in 1966 that the Government did not, as yet, have a policy of organising a family planning programme in Thailand.

In 1967, the Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachon, in endorsing the World Leaders' Statement on Population, openly declared his support of family planning policy, but emphasised that this was his own personal conviction and did not represent the consensus of his Government. In fact, it appears that the majority of Cabinet members supported the Prime Minister's view, but the major hindrance to the formulation of a family

planning policy at that time was the attitude of General Prapat, then Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the Armed Forces. He still held to the belief that a high birth rate today produces a growing army tomorrow.

In 1968, the Cabinet gave permission for the expansion of a programme of 'Family Health Services'[1], which had been started as a pilot project in Potharam District (Ratchaburi Province) in 1964, to other parts of the country. This programme, which provided contraception as part of an integrated maternal and child health service was, however, restricted to women who had children already. Nevertheless, by now public opinion was strongly in favour of family planning, and later in 1968 the King of Thailand publicly voiced his concern about the high rate of population growth in the country, and expressed support for the extension of family planning services to the people as part of the Maternal and Child Health Programme.

Finally, in March 1970, twelve years (and some nine million births) after the World Bank's first report, the Thai Government declared a formal, National Population Policy. The Policy declared that the birth rate of the country should be reduced to avoid economic disaster, and that family planning services should be made available to the population in all parts of the country through the Government Health Centres. Contraceptive methods were to be provided at greatly subsidised prices to encourage their use by the rural poor, and the need to control fertility for the sake of the Nation, should be communicated in every

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[1] Such euphemisms were commonly used before 1970, to disguise the true function of contraceptive programmes.

possible way[1]. The Government's aim was thereby to reduce the population growth rate from over 3% per annum, to 2.5% by the end of 1976.

In the ten years which have now elapsed since the Thai Government endorsed the Family Planning Programme, there has been every indication that the population has readily and enthusiastically adopted birth control. Although numerous localised studies have confirmed the dramatic impact of the Family Planning Programme on birth rates in many parts of Thailand, it remains to be seen if there is a significant reduction in the national birth rate, in view of the gross variability in the quality of services from one region to another. Budgetary limitations, and a lack of trained medical personnel willing to work in the rural areas, had meant that some parts of the country, particularly the impoverished North-east, have not yet attained a level of services in line with the rest of the country. The 1980 Census will provide the first accurate evidence of the impact of the Programme on population growth rates in the country as a whole. However, if the figure for the population of Thailand at the end of 1979, as given by the Registration data (see p. 59 above) proves to be correct, it would seem that growth rates have not, as yet, begun to decline significantly in Thailand as a whole.

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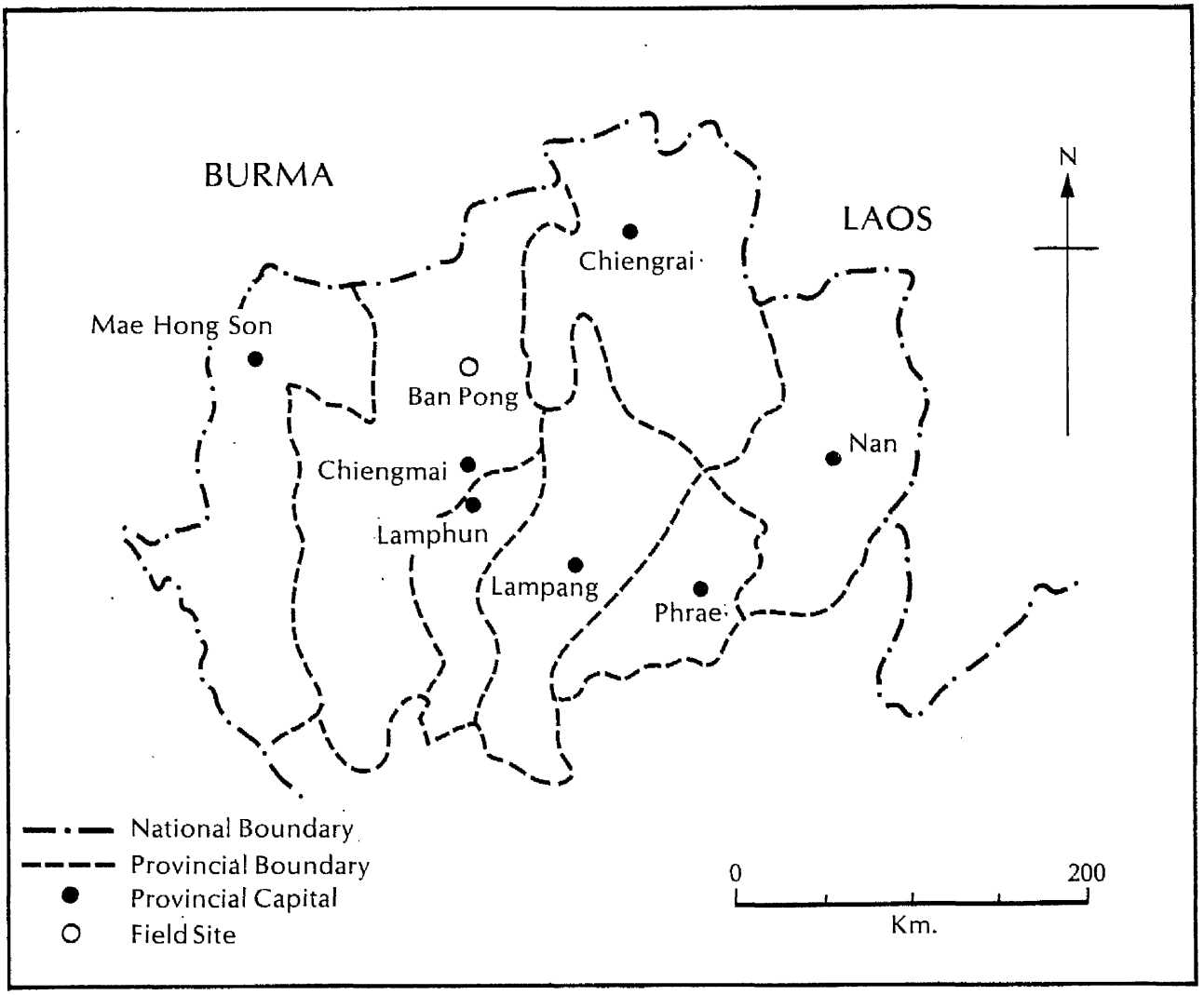
[1]For example, the Government Programme was accompanied by publicity campaigns marked by slogans such as 'luk mak ca' yak con' (too many children will make you poor), and an insistence that modern contraceptive methods were 'saduak, sanuk, sabai' (convenient, fun and comfortable).

1.4 Population Change in Chiengmai Province

The problems encountered in reconstructing the trends in population change for Thailand as a whole, prior to the first National Census, are compounded if one attempts a similar exercise for a particular area within Thailand. Apart from the mere paucity of data, nineteenth century population estimates tend to refer to a variety of overlapping geographical areas, making the extrapolation of data for any single area virtually impossible. In the case of Chiengmai Province, some figures for the last century refer to Chiengmai 'principality' alone, while others give a combined total for Chiengmai and Chiengrai, or for the much larger area of 'Western Laos', whose constituent parts varied according to the date, or source, of the data (see Map 3).

Following its full incorporation into the Kingdom of Siam at the end of the nineteenth century, Northern Thailand was subject to administrative definition in line with the rest of the country. However, even the more reliable official population figures for the present century involve problems of interpretation. Again, the major complicating factor is the change, over time, of the administrative units for which population figures are available. Between 1894 and 1932, Siam was divided into monthon (circles), the number of which varied, during this period, from 10 to 18. Northern Thailand was divided into two monthon; Monthon Phayab including Chiengmai, Chiengrai, Mae Hong Son and Lamphun, and Monthon Maharashtra, including Phrae, Lampang and Nan. Between 1941 and 1957, a new system of phak (regions) was introduced, of which there were first five, and later nine. Although the cangwat (province) has long been a

MAP 3. THE PROVINCES OF NORTHERN THAILAND

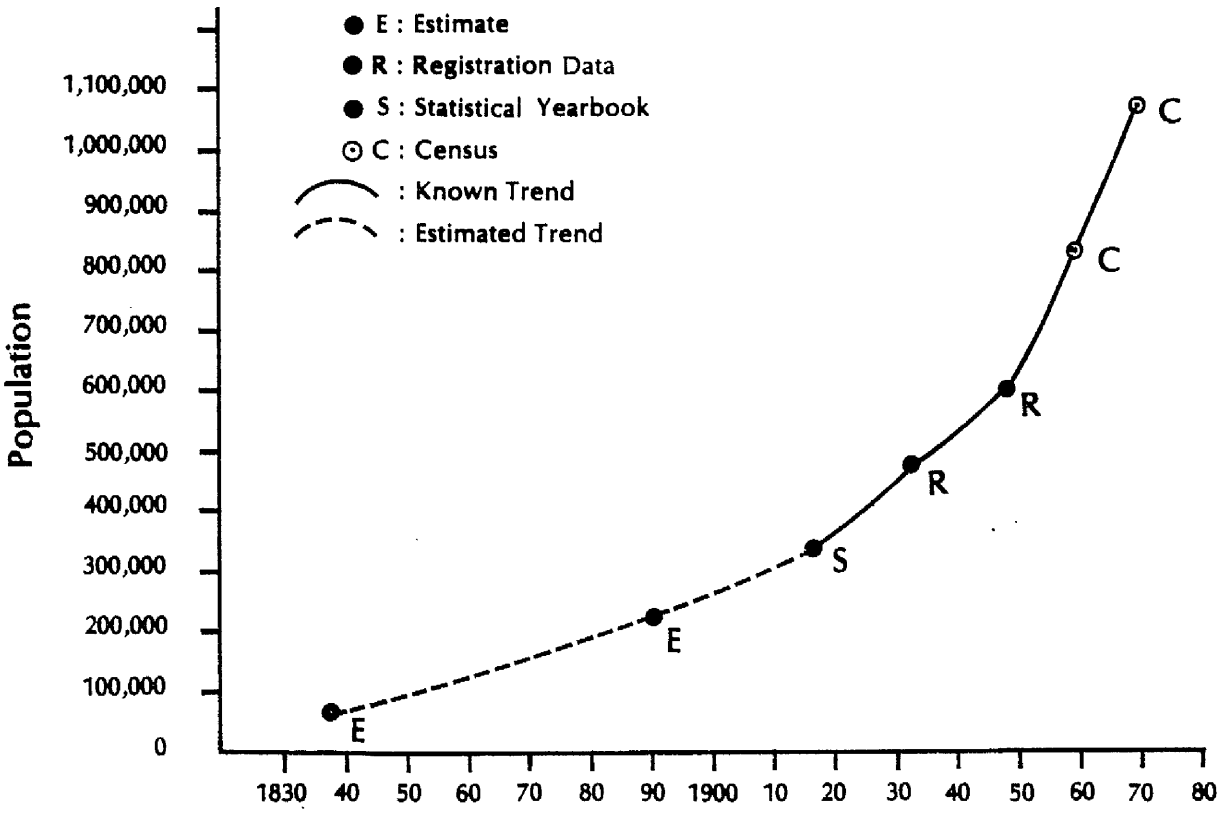


recognised administrative unit in Thailand, the present-day division of the country into seventy-one cangwat was not concluded until 1957. Thus detailed comparative data at cangwat level is not available prior to the 1960 census.

The following figures provide only a very approximate picture of population change in Chiengmai Province over the last century. An early estimate of the population of 'Western Laos' is given by McLeod (1867), with a figure of 175,000 for the year 1837, some 50,000 of whom are likely to have been resident in the area now known as Chiengmai Province. By 1890 the population of 'Western Laos' was estimated as being over 700,000 (Barrow, 1890), of whom about 200,000 were inhabitants of Chiengmai Province. By 1919, specific figures for the Province itself were available. In that year the population of Chiengmai was given as 349,550 (Statistical Yearbook, 1919-20). By 1934 it had grown to 440,694, by 1960 to 798,483, and by 1970 the population had exceeded one million.

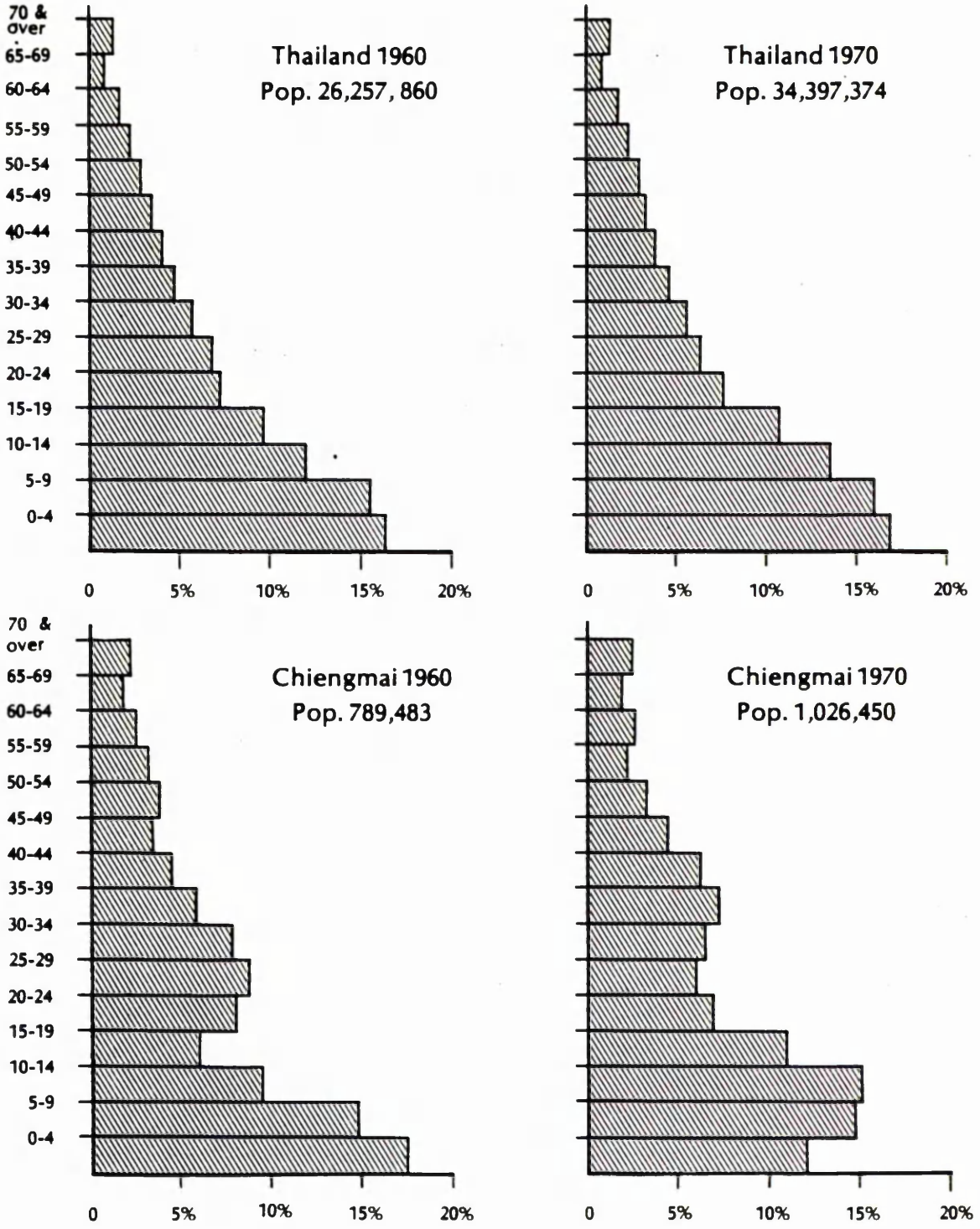
Comparison of the growth curve for Chiengmai (Figure 3), with that for Thailand as a whole (Figure 2), shows that they have been increasing at a broadly similar rate until fairly recently. However, unlike Thailand as a whole, there is evidence of a deceleration in the growth rate of Chiengmai, starting at some point in the late 1950s, and gathering momentum in the 1960s. This change can be clearly seen by comparison of population pyramids for the country and province for the years 1960 and 1970 (Figure 4). The narrowing of the base of the 1970 population pyramid for Chiengmai indicates a progressive and substantial fall in birth rates. The population pyramid for Thailand on the other hand, has a widening base, indicative of continuing high birth rates.

Figure 3: Population Growth : Chiengmai Province, 1840-1970



Sources: McLeod (1867), Barrow (1890), McDaniel (n.d.), Thailand Population Census (1960)
Thailand Population and Housing Census (1970)

Figure 4 : Population Pyramids, Thailand and Chiengmai Province, 1960 & 1970



Sources: Thailand Population Census (1960), Thailand Population and Housing Census (1970)

The substantial difference in fertility behaviour in Chiengmai Province as compared with Thailand as a whole, is also evidenced by their crude birth rates[1]. In Chiengmai the crude birth rate was at its highest, 41/1000 in 1955, since when it has declined rapidly to a low 19/1000 in 1973. In contrast, crude birth rates for Thailand continued to increase steadily in the early 1960s, reaching a peak of 38.5/1000 in 1964, and with only a slow decline since then to 34.5/1000 in 1971 (Pardthaisong, 1978). Table 1 shows that despite a slight decline in death rates in Chiengmai during the 1960s, the much more rapid decline in birth rates has had a substantial effect in lowering the natural growth rate[2] of the Province.

Table 1

Chiengmai Province : Natural Growth Rates, 1962-1970[3]

Year	Population Size	Crude Birth Rate (/1000)	Crude Death Rate (/1000)	Natural Growth Rate (%)
1962	832,627	36	11	2.5
1963	854,924	35	10	2.5
1964	873,897	34	9	2.5
1965	900,402	31	8	2.3
1966	923,002	29	8	2.1
1967	949,652	27	8	1.9
1968	968,738	24	7	1.7
1969	982,986	22	8	1.4
1970	1,002,295	21	7	1.4

[1] i.e. Number of births per 1000 population, per annum.

[2] i.e. Crude birth rate minus crude death rate, per cent.

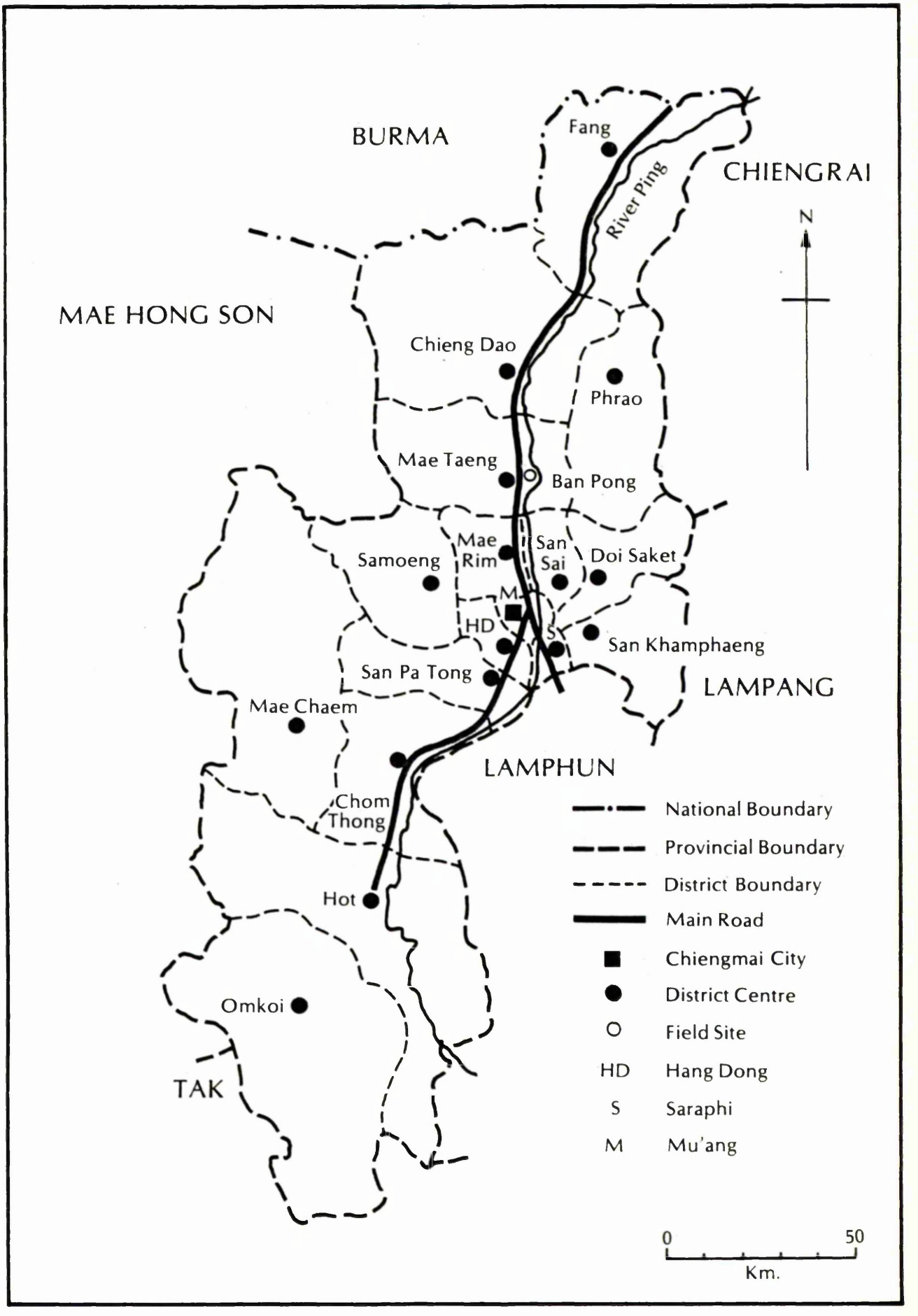
[3] Data source: E.B. McDaniel (n.d.) from Registration Data.

1.5 Population Change in Mae Taeng District and Inthkhin Sub-district

Administrative organisation in Thailand within the Province is at three levels; the district (amphoe), the sub-district (tambon), and the village (mu ban). Since 1960, the National Census has included certain data at the district level, but these are limited in their scope, and there is no further breakdown below the district level. Vital Registration data on the other hand, are available at the district, sub-district and, in some cases, the village level. However, the accuracy and completeness of these data is, unfortunately, highly variable, being largely dependent on the efficiency of the individual district registration officers, and the chiefs of the sub-districts, whose job it is to record them. Each birth and death, (and movement of an individual from one area to another), is required, by law, to be registered. Penalties are laid down for those who fail to comply. Even so, until comparatively recently, there has been considerable under-registration, particularly in the more remote rural areas, where it has proved difficult to enforce the law. A further limitation of the Registration data is that records are kept only for ten years, after which time they are destroyed, thus restricting their value for use in retrospective analysis.

Bearing these reservations in mind, I will present the data on population change at the district and sub-district levels, as background to the detailed analysis of population change in Ban Pong to be presented in the following chapters. Having already established that Chiengmai Province differs substantially from Thailand as a whole in terms of its demographic trends in recent years, it is important to determine the extent to which Mae Taeng District, and Inthakhin Sub-district, follow this trend.

MAP 4. THE DISTRICTS OF CHIENGMAI PROVINCE



Mae Taeng District, one of seventeen districts making up Chiengmai Province, is situated about 35 kilometres due north of the provincial capital (Maps 4 and 5), and straddles the main valley of the River Ping. Much of its 1500 square kilometres is mountainous, and the majority of its population, (55,000 in 1970), is concentrated in the main Ping valley, and along those of its two confluents, the River Taeng to the west, and the Ngat to the east. In 1971, its population density, (37 people per square kilometre), was slightly below the provincial average of 44, but well below the figure for those districts adjacent to the Provincial capital, such as Saraphi (471/sq.km.), and Hang Dong (225/sq.km.).

Inthakhin Sub-district is one of twelve in Mae Taeng District, and is situated to the north-east of the District centre. Its eastern border runs north-south along the River Ping, and the main road north from Chiengmai city passes through the centre of the sub-district (Map 6). In 1970, Inthakhin was made up of thirteen villages, ten of which were situated in the western half of Ban Pong valley, (including Ban Pong itself), two beside the main road to the west of the valley, and one in the mountainous area to the north-west[1] (Map 6). The total population of Inthakhin sub-district in 1973 was about 10,000, and as such was one of the more densely populated sub-districts in Mae Taeng.

In the discussion above, of population trends in Chiengmai Province, data were given for births and deaths, the components of the natural growth rate. However, there are two other important demographic variables

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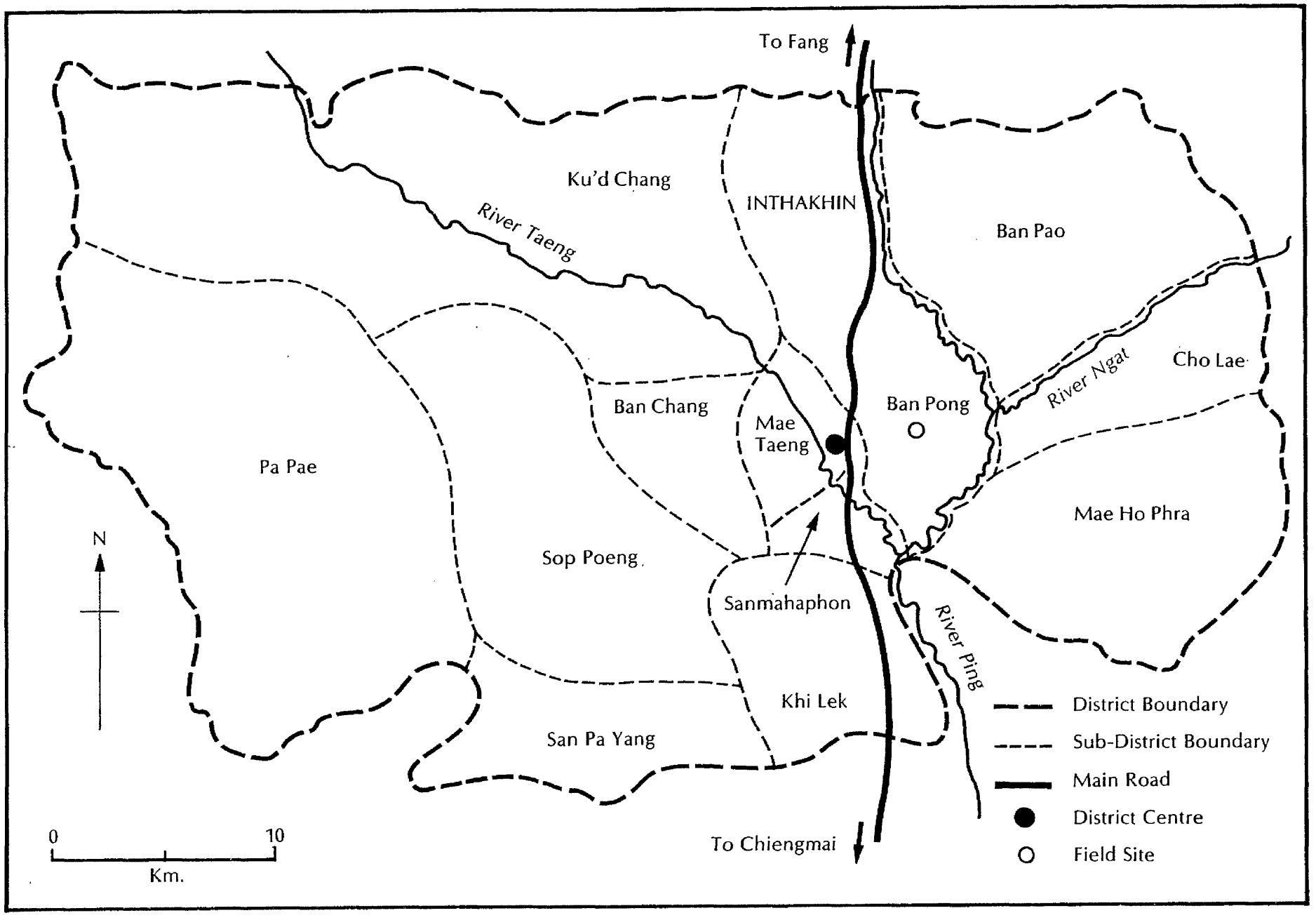
[1] This village is discussed in Chapter 8.

MAP 5. THE SUB-DISTRICTS OF MAE TAENG DISTRICT



which contribute to the overall population growth rate; movement into and out of the area under examination.[1] Thus population growth of a particular area in any year is the sum of births minus deaths, and movement in minus movement out. Registrations for Mae Taeng District and Inthakhin Sub-district include the data necessary for these calculations. They are presented in the same way as births and deaths, (as rates per 1000 population), to allow comparability (Tables 2 and 3).

Birth rates in Mae Taeng District and Inthakhin Sub-district indicate a substantial fall in fertility during the 1960s, similar to that found in Chiengmai Province as a whole. However, whilst the fall in Chiengmai Province was comparatively gradual, in Mae Taeng, and particularly in Inthakhin, the fall was dramatic after 1967, the year in which a Family Planning Programme was introduced in Ban Pong (see Chapter 5). Death rates, though showing a greater degree of variability, (as one would expect in the smaller District and Sub-district populations), show a similar, slow downward trend to that seen for Chiengmai Province.

Migration data for Mae Taeng and Inthakhin highlight the degree to which annual fluctuations in population movement can radically influence overall growth rates. For example, in Mae Taeng District, there was a peak in net migration[2] in 1964, which made the overall population growth rate for that year higher than at any other time during this period, despite the fact that death rates were also highest in that year.

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[1] Patterns of migration at provincial level will be discussed in the first section of Chapter 4.

[2] i.e. Movement in minus movement out, per cent of total population.

MAP 6. VILLAGES OF INTHAKIN SUB-DISTRICT

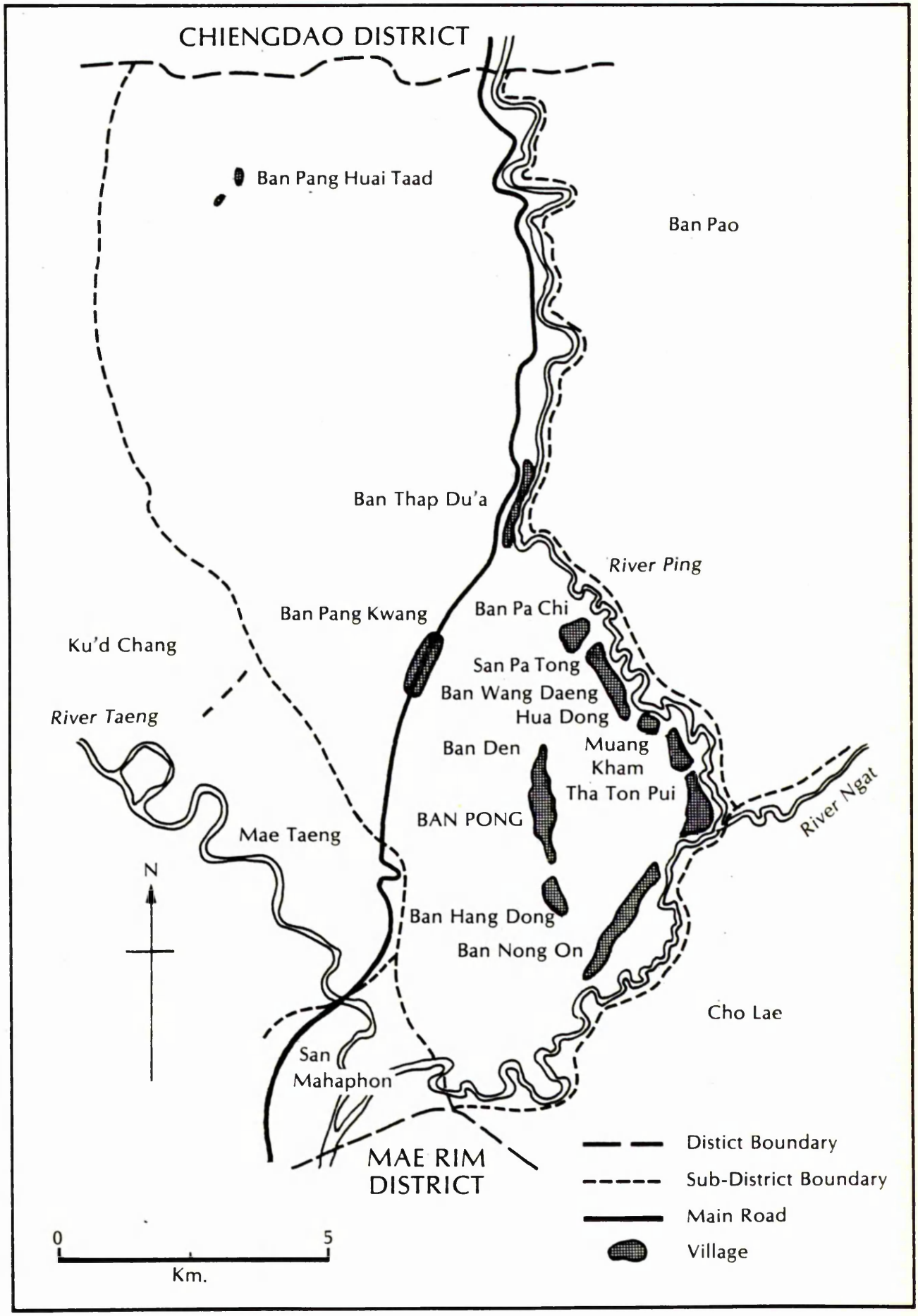

Table 2: Mae Taeng District: Births, Deaths and Migration, 1962-1973

Rates per 1000 population.

Year	Mid-Year Population	Crude Birth Rate	Crude Death Rate	Movement In	Movement Out
1962	47,209*	35	11	12	14
1963	48,591*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1964	50,466	32	13	37	26
1965	51,485*	33	10	20	28
1966	51,719*	30	11	20	26
1967	52,613	26	9	23	23
1968	53,497	23	9	28	25
1969	54,167	20	9	19	19
1970	55,002	18	10	29	28
1971	55,623	17	9	17	18
1972	56,417	19	8	23	22
1973	56,753	17	8	30	25

* Estimate

Table 3: Inthakhin Sub-district: Births, Deaths and Migration, 1962-1973

Rates per 1000 population

Year	Mid-Year Population	Crude Birth Rate	Crude Death Rate	Movement In	Movement Out
1962	7,495*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1963	7,588*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1964	7,810*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1965	8,037	37	12	21	21
1966	8,198	36	13	25	36
1967	8,311	28	8	22	27
1968	8,382	23	12	49	31
1969	8,596	18	12	27	31
1970	8,805	17	9	22	19
1971	8,857	17	10	15	19
1972	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1973	10,690[1]	18	8	13	16

[1] It appears that an error, involving the underenumeration of males, had occurred at some time prior to 1962 and had persisted through each year until being discovered in 1972, when a recount was done, and the 1973 figure adjusted accordingly. Thus all rates may be slightly higher than recorded here; however, the trends would remain the same.

Table 4: Mae Taeng District : Constituents of Population Growth, 1962-1973

Year	Natural Growth Rate (%)	Net Migration Rate (%)	Population Growth Rate (%)
1962	2.4	-0.2	2.2
1963	n/a	n/a	n/a
1964	1.9	1.1	3.0
1965	2.3	-0.8	1.5
1966	1.9	-0.6	1.3
1967	1.7	0	1.7
1968	1.4	0.3	1.7
1969	1.1	0	1.1
1970	0.8	0.1	0.9
1971	0.8	-0.1	0.7
1972	1.1	0.1	1.2
1973	0.9	0.5	1.4

Table 5: Inthakhin Sub-district : Constituents of Population Growth, 1962-1973

Year	Natural Growth Rate (%)	Net Migration Rate (%)	Population Growth Rate (%)
1962	n/a	n/a	n/a
1963	n/a	n/a	1.2
1964	n/a	n/a	2.8
1965	2.5	0	2.5
1966	2.3	-1.1	1.2
1967	2.0	-0.5	1.5
1968	1.1	1.8	2.9
1969	0.6	-0.4	0.2
1970	0.8	0.3	1.1
1971	0.7	-0.4	0.2
1972	n/a	n/a	n/a
1973	1.0	-0.3	0.7

Similarly, an exceptionally high number of migrants moving into Inthakhin during 1968 resulted in a very high rate of population growth, despite a considerable fall in the birth rate in that year. And finally, in 1971, a very low birth rate, and a net loss of migrants, resulted in a particularly low rate of population increase in Inthakhin for that year.

Tables 4 and 5 give figures for the constituents of population growth, i.e. the natural growth rate, net migration rate, and population growth rates, for Mae Taeng District and Inthakhin Sub-district. Although in most years the net migration rate contributed to a very small proportion of the overall population growth rate, (apart from the exceptions referred to above), it is important to remember that the overall turnover[1] of population involved in these movements, may have had a significant effect on the age and sex structure of the community involved. This aspect of migration will be discussed in Chapter 4.

SUMMARY

Throughout its history, the population of Northern Thailand has been subject to rapid and substantial changes, both in its size and composition, as a result of prolonged political instability in the area. Following the full incorporation of Northern Thailand into the Kingdom of Siam towards the end of the last century, its population grew rapidly, in line with that of the whole country. However, since the late 1950s, the population growth rate of one northern province,

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[1] Movement in plus movement out, per 1000 population.

Chiengmai, has slowed down considerably, a trend largely attributable to a dramatic fall in the birth rate, which is now well below the national average. The trend found for Chiengmai is also apparent at the District and Sub-district level within the Province. In the following two chapters, the components of natural growth - fertility and mortality - in the field site, Ban Pong Village, will be discussed in detail in relation to changes occurring in recent decades.

The considerable mobility which has characterised the population of Northern Thailand for many hundreds of years has, as I have noted, continued to the present day. Prior to the twentieth century, the continual displacement of the population, either through capture or in flight, was a result of the fierce struggle for the control of manpower in the region. Nowadays however it is overpopulation, unemployment and an acute shortage of land which leads to high rates of population movement each year.

The history of Ban Pong, despite its comparatively recent settlement, spans the period of transition between these two situations. The foundation of the Village in the early 1880s, as we have seen, occurred at a time when Government policy was encouraging settlement in remote uninhabited areas, in order to consolidate its control of the region. In Chapter 4 I will describe how in recent decades the patterns of migration have changed as a result of growing economic pressures in the Valley. Later in the thesis, (Chapters 7 and 8), the economic factors which have led to such changes in population movement in Ban Pong will be discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 2

CHANGING PATTERNS OF FERTILITY IN BAN PONG

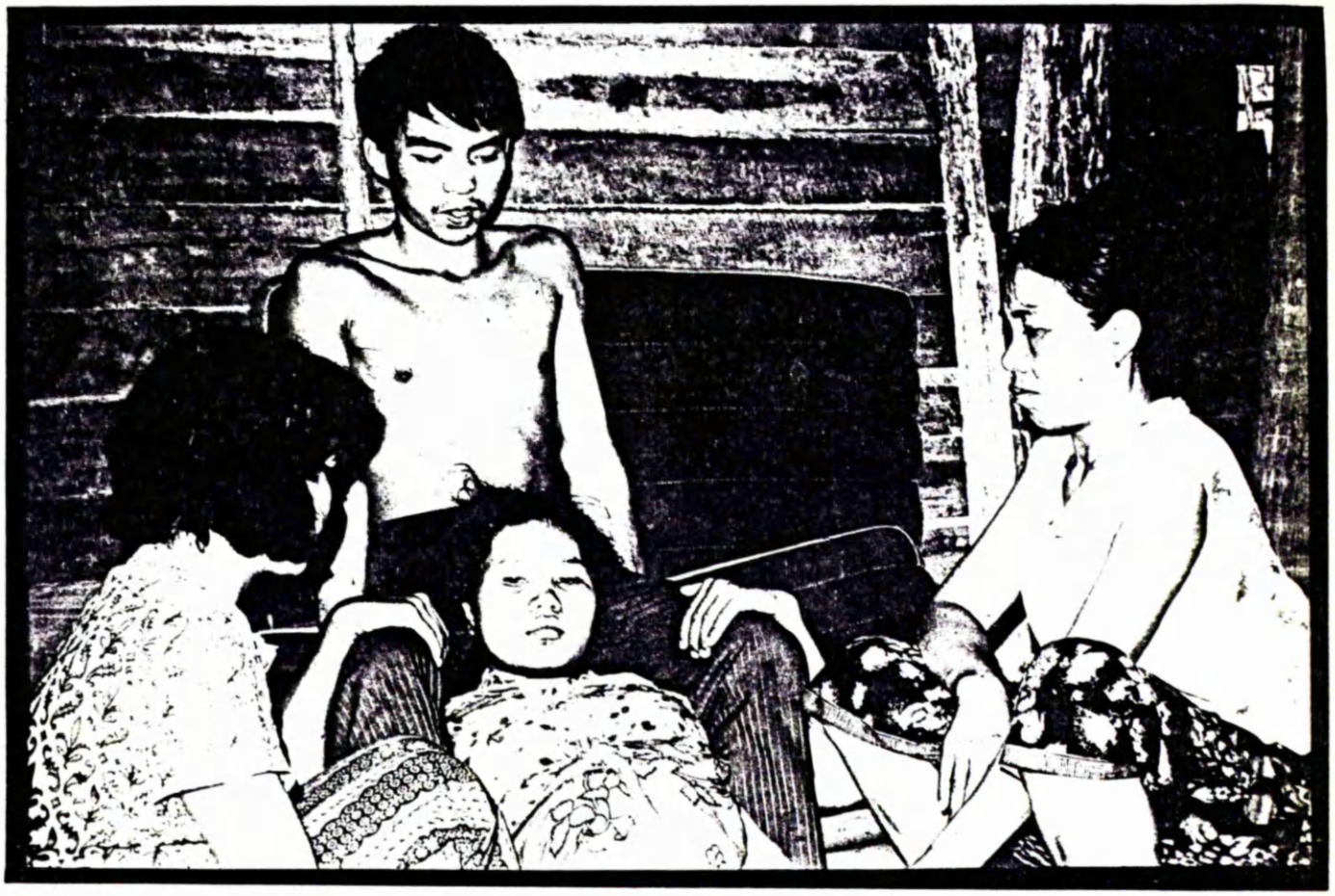

PLATE 2: Childbirth. The young husband is in position to assist his wife in the final stages of delivery of their first child. The midwife (Phi Kham Cino), youngest daughter of Ui Ma, had come down from pa miang to help her niece with the birth (January 1974).

2. Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to trace the changing patterns of fertility of Ban Pong women in recent decades. The analysis, which deals with the period from the late 1930s to the early 1970s, highlights two major changes which have occurred during this time. The first was a substantial increase in birth rates at the end of the Second World War, which was maintained throughout the following decade and which, together with a substantial decline in mortality during this period, resulted in the rapid growth of population of the community. The second important change in the fertility of Ban Pong women has been a more recent decline in birth rates which began in the early 1960s, and which accelerated following the introduction of a family planning programme in 1967. Before presenting the analysis of fertility change in Ban Pong, I first examine the extent to which these changes can be attributed to the operation of certain factors known to influence fertility in other societies.

2.1 The Determinants of Fertility[1]

The fertility of a population is shaped by the interaction of a number of variables, some physiological, others more appropriately described as sociological or behavioural. Davis and Blake (1956) suggested that these 'intermediate variables' influencing fertility may be divided into three major categories: those affecting exposure to intercourse, those affecting exposure to conception, and those affecting the outcome of pregnancy.[2]

Exposure to intercourse is directly related to the formation and dissolution of sexual unions which, in turn, are influenced by such factors as age at entry into sexual unions, the proportion of women in a population remaining celibate, and the opportunities for remarriage following divorce or widowhood. Exposure to intercourse within unions may be modified by culturally imposed periods of abstinence, prolonged periods of separation of spouses, as well as by coital frequency. Variables affecting exposure to conception include involuntary infecundity (i.e. the incidence of primary or secondary sterility), as well as the voluntary use of contraception or surgical sterilisation. Factors affecting the outcome of pregnancy include fetal mortality from involuntary causes (spontaneous miscarriage or stillbirth), or from voluntarily induced abortion and infanticide (Hawthorn, 1970:18-19).

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[1] In this chapter I will use the terminology as defined by Lorimer: 'In present English demographic usage 'fecundity' refers to capacity to produce living offspring; 'fertility' refers to actual performance'. (1954:22, footnote).

[2] For a cross-cultural study of factors affecting human fertility see Nag (1968) and Ford (1964).

2.2 The Data

Despite the obvious importance of fertility patterns in the structuring of human populations, little interest has been shown by anthropologists in this topic, so comparative data are extremely rare.[1] One of the few comprehensive studies of the demographic characteristics of a small community was conducted recently by Macfarlane (1976), in his work on the Gurungs of Nepal. In his analysis, Macfarlane has used the framework proposed by Davis and Blake and, in order to permit maximum comparability of our data, I intend to follow the same general presentation.

My main source of data for this chapter is the Fertility History Questionnaire[2], supplemented by information gathered during extended interviews with a number of informants. The questionnaire was given to each woman in Ban Pong who had ever been married (including those currently married, divorced and widowed, hereafter referred to as 'ever-married women'), and details of all pregnancies reported by them were recorded. Such details included the year of each pregnancy and its outcome, the age, and cause of death of children who had died, and the current place of residence of those who had survived. The problem, so often mentioned by anthropologists, of uncertainty about ages of informants and their children was alleviated by the common usage of a twelve-year animal cycle by villagers[3]. A mother invariably knew the animal year of birth of each of her children, since this is a critical factor in the calculation of astrological tables, so popular amongst the

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[1] Notable exceptions include Firth et al (1957) and Fortes (1954).

[2] See Appendix 1.

[3] See Appendix 2.

Thai. For pregnancies which did not end in a livebirth, the problem was more complex. However, this was generally overcome by careful discussion with the woman involved, to estimate the timing of the event in relation to her other pregnancies, or to other significant events important to members of the community. Basic data were available for all 490 ever-married women interviewed at the time of the 1973 Household Survey. Detailed fertility histories were recorded subsequently for 367 ever-married women aged under 60 and for 68 women aged 60 and over[1]. Women not interviewed on the second occasion had either died or moved away in the interim, or were temporarily absent.

It should be noted here that the fertility patterns thus derived represent those of a group of women who made up the adult, female population of Ban Pong at the time of my survey. They do not include the fertility histories of women who had lived in the village in the past and who had since moved elsewhere, or died. It is therefore essentially the fertility experience of a survivor population rather than that of all women who had lived in the village over a certain period of years. Inevitably this creates a bias in the data, since, for example, women who had died in childbirth, or from other causes, during their fertile years, will have been excluded. Unfortunately this is a bias which is difficult to correct, since Vital Registration data are available only for the last ten consecutive years, and are often incomplete[2]. Unless otherwise stated, all tables in this chapter refer to ever-married women living in Ban Pong in 1973.

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[1] This represents 90% of the women under 60, and 80% of the women aged 60 and over among the original 490 interviewed.

[2] See comment on the Vital Registration system, Chapter 1, p.73.

2.3 The Reproductive Span

Before embarking on the discussion of fertility, I would first like to refer briefly to changes which have occurred in the length of the reproductive span among women in Ban Pong. Studies in the developing world have shown a general trend, over recent years, of a progressive lengthening of the reproductive span, resulting from a steady decline in age at menarche, combined with an increase in age at menopause, both of which have been attributed to improvements in nutrition, living conditions, and medical care (Smith, 1970:105 and 352). The mean ages at menarche and menopause of ever-married women in Ban Pong show evidence of this generally recognised trend (Table 6). Despite the absence of ritual associated with first menstruation in Northern Thailand, even the oldest women appeared to have little difficulty in remembering their age at menarche. Information on age at menopause is inevitably less precise, since in many cases this can involve a fairly gradual process of phasing out of menses, rather than their abrupt cessation. Even so, most informants could recall the approximate timing of this event.

Table 6

Mean Age at Menarche and Menopause, Ever-married Women, Ban Pong, 1973

Current Age Group		Mean age at menarche	Mean age at menopause
15-19	(12)[1]	13.7[2]	-
20-24	(41)	15.0	-
25-29	(41)	15.4	-
30-34	(63)	16.0	-
35-39	(54)	15.7	-
40-44	(69)	16.5	-
45-49	(50)	16.3	45.3[3]
50-54	(51)	16.3	46.8
55-59	(24)	16.4	45.9
60-64	(23)	16.4	45.8
65-69	(22)	16.8	44.9
70 plus	(40)	16.9	43.8

The mean reproductive span of women in Ban Pong appears to be gradually widening[4], from an average of less than 30 years for women now in the older age groups, to a possible 40 years or more for those now in younger age groups, if age at menopause continues to rise at the present

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[1] Numbers in brackets are for the total number of ever-married women in each age group. Unless otherwise specified, the same numbers apply to all other tables in this chapter.

[2] The ages at menarche of unmarried women were not recorded, and it is possible that the average age at menarche for all 162 women in the youngest age group would be higher than the mean given in the Table. However, in view of the downward trend in average age at menarche among women in older age groups, I would expect that the figure for women currently under 20 years of age will remain comparatively low.

[3] Since only 60% of women in this age group had reached menopause at the time of the study, it is likely that the eventual mean age will be considerably higher.

[4] The correlation coefficient (R) for age by age at menarche is 0.29046 and R^2 is 0.08437. For age by age at menopause, the R value is -0.14994, R^2 is 0.02248. The relationship between age and age at menarche is significant at the 99% level. In the case of age by age at menopause, the significance level is slightly lower, 95%, because of the smaller range of values.

rate. This is, of course, a theoretical maximum span, which may be modified in a number of ways by the 'intermediate variables' discussed below. To a lesser degree, physiological factors such as the age at which the menstrual cycle both begins[1], and ceases, to be ovulatory can influence fertility. However, in the case of women in Ban Pong, the former is unlikely to affect fertility rates significantly, since mean age at marriage generally exceeds mean age at menarche, by at least two years (compare Table 6 with Table 7 below). The effects of declining fecundity in women approaching menopause will be discussed in the following section.

The changes which have led to a three-year drop in mean age at menarche and a three-year rise in age at menopause among Ban Pong women are uncertain, but one likely factor would have been the gradual expansion of marketing networks and improved communications which have resulted in a greater variability of fresh fruit and vegetables, and a more regular supply of meat, fish, eggs and poultry, thus enhancing the diet of villagers.

2.4 Factors affecting exposure to intercourse

As mentioned elsewhere (Chapter 9, pp.410,415), premarital sex is not uncommon in Ban Pong. However, it is not socially condoned, and is therefore invariably clandestine[2], discovery tending to precipitate

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[1] The apparent delay between first menstruation and the time at which a young girl begins to ovulate regularly has been described as 'adolescent sterility'. For a discussion of this see Lorimer (1954:46-49).

[2] For this reason it was not possible to determine age at commencement of sexual activity prior to marriage.

marriage, especially when a pregnancy has occurred.[1] It is therefore reasonable to take age at first marriage as being an approximate indicator of the age at entry into regular sexual union. Age at first marriage of women has been shown to be an extremely significant indicator of economic change in many pre-industrial societies, and the direct impact of this single factor on the fertility of a population can be considerable (see Coale, 1967; Ryder, 1969; Wrigley, 1969 and Hawthorn, 1970). As Wrigley has succinctly explained:

> 'In...(non-contracepting)...communities the fertility of women is mainly a function of their age. If therefore they spend many of their child-bearing years outside marriage, much reproductive potential is permanently lost. Other things being equal this in itself can result in total fertility levels which differ from each other by a factor of two between a community in which the average age at first marriage is the very early twenties and another where it is about 30.' (1969:116)

The conditions of economic hardship which can result in many young women postponing their marriage are likely to produce a similar response in men, although without the same implications for fertility decline (Wrigley:ibid.).

Changing patterns in age at marriage of men and women in Ban Pong are discussed in detail in Appendix 4, but I shall summarise the main points here insofar as they concern the exposure to intercourse of women in Ban Pong. In view of the considerable economic hardship experienced by a large proportion of the population in Ban Pong in recent years (see Chapter 7 on the subject of landlessness), it is perhaps surprising that the mean age at first marriage for women in the village has varied very little over recent decades, with a median age of about 20 years for most age groups (see Table 7). The lower mean age at first marriage for women currently under 25 is related to the fact that many of the younger women

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[1] There were only two cases of unmarried mothers in Ban Pong at the time of fieldwork, both of which were the result of very unusual circumstances. Both women were deaf-mute. One had been a prostitute in Bangkok, and the other, a woman in her mid-forties, had been raped by a neighbouring villager.

were still single at the time of the survey (92% of women under 20, and 45% of those aged 20-24. See Table 69 in Appendix 4). The eventual mean age at first marriage for these age groups is therefore likely to be considerably higher than at present.

However, when age at first marriage is analysed cumulatively, that is by proportions in each age group marrying at particular ages (see Table 70, Appendix 4), some interesting variations emerge. Women aged between 35 and 49 (and to a lesser extent those aged 50-54) had married considerably later than women in all other age groups. Thus while 45% or more of women in other age groups (except the youngest) had married by the age of 19, only about one third of women aged 35-49 were married by this age. Similarly, while virtually all women in other age groups married by age 28, between 10% and 13% of women aged 35-49 were still unmarried at this age. I would suggest that for the older of these women at least, the severe disruption and hardship experienced in this region during the Japanese occupation of Thailand in the 1940s, may account for this considerable degree of postponement of marriage. For the younger of these women, marrying in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it is likely that the acute economic problems associated with the rapid increase of population and rise in landlessness during these decades, may well have been major contributory factors to their late age at marriage.

When mean age at first pregnancy is compared to mean age at first marriage, an interesting pattern emerges[1] (Table 7). In the oldest age groups, the first pregnancy occurred, on average, about two years after

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[1] The correlation coefficient (R) for age by age at first marriage is 0.14709 and R^2 is 0.02164. For age by age at first pregnancy, the R value is 0.19545 and R^2 is 0.03820. In both cases the relationship between variables is significant at the 99% level.

marriage. This gap narrowed rapidly for women now aged between 55 and 64. Below age 35, the period between marriage and first pregnancy has again shortened.

Table 7

Mean Age at Marriage and First Pregnancy, Ever-married Women, Ban Pong, 1973

Current Age Group	Mean Age at Marriage	Mean Age at 1st Pregnancy	Mean Gap in Years
15-19	16.8	17.0	0.2
20-24	18.7	19.2	0.5
25-29	19.4	19.9	0.5
30-34	19.9	20.6	0.7
35-39	20.9	21.8	0.9
40-44	20.9	22.4	1.5
45-49	20.9	21.9	1.0
50-54	20.4	21.4	1.0
55-59	19.5	19.9	0.4
60-64	20.8	21.7	0.9
65-69	20.9	23.0	2.1
70 plus	19.3	21.1	1.8

These variations may be attributable to a number of factors. It is, of course, possible that the figures for older women may, to some extent, be biased due to the tendency to forget a first pregnancy which might not have resulted in a livebirth or in a surviving child. However, the difference between the gap from marriage to first pregnancy in those aged over 65, and those aged under 65, is sufficiently large to suggest some behavioural change. For example, there may have been a temporary loosening of premarital sexual taboos, leading to a greater proportion of women being pregnant at the time of marriage and hence a shorter average gap between marriage and the first pregnancy. Conversely, the

sharp widening of the gap between marriage and first pregnancy among women now aged 35 to 54 may have been the result of deliberate postponement of a first pregnancy in response to those same conditions which I suggested earlier as having led to the postponement of marriage by many of the women in these age groups. The extremely short interval between marriage and first pregnancy in the youngest age groups (bearing in mind that only half, or fewer, of women in these age groups were married by the time of the survey), may be due to the fact that many of those who had married, had done so because they were already pregnant.

According to Sauvy (1969:350), there are three major reasons for the gradual decline in fecundity with increasing age: first, an initially small proportion of sterile women increases quite rapidly after age 30 (see p. 100, footnote 1); second, the period of post-partum amenhorroea[1] lengthens with successive pregnancies; and third, there is generally a decline in coital frequency in the later years of marriage[2]. There appears to be no age at which couples in Ban Pong are normally expected to curtail sexual activity, though some informants expressed the opinion that it was not appropriate for a woman to become pregnant at a time when her own daughters were producing babies of their own[3]. However, this was by no means a strict rule, and there were a number of cases where this had occurred. Fertility histories of post-menopausal women indicated that the majority of them had continued reproductive activity

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[1] i.e. the period following delivery during which a woman fails to ovulate.

[2] An attempt to investigate variations in coital frequency among couples in Ban Pong proved fruitless as informants were extremely reluctant to divulge such information. I decided to exclude the question from my survey since it seemed likely to jeopardise the entire project.

[3] Cassen refers to this as the 'shame at grandmother pregnancy syndrome' (1978:53).

until quite late in life. Table 8, below, compares mean age at last pregnancy with mean age at menopause, for women who were still married at the onset of menopause. About 80% of all post-menopausal women in Ban Pong had had their last pregnancy after age 35. Women who had their last pregnancy in their twenties or early thirties were evidently atypical, and may, in some cases, have suffered from secondary sterility. If such women are excluded from the calculation of mean age at last pregnancy, the figure rises to about 40 years for all age groups.

Table 8

Mean Age at Menopause and Last Pregnancy, Ever-married Women, Ban Pong, 1973

Current Age Group	Mean Age at Menopause	Mean Age at Last Pregnancy
45-49 (16)[1]	45.3	34.3
50-54 (38)	46.8	38.8
55-59 (29)	45.9	37.3
60-64 (10)	45.8	36.9
65-69 (12)	44.9	38.0
70 plus (23)	43.8	40.2

Comparative data for other non-contracepting rural populations are given by Macfarlane (1976:260-262) and Gessain (1973:3). Macfarlane gives figures for mean age at last childbirth in three different Nepalese populations as 35.8, 36.6 and 37 years. He suggests that the mean age at menopause for women in his own study area 'almost certainly falls within the normal range of 44-49 years' (ibid.). Gessain gives an overall mean age at last pregnancy for Bessari women of 38 years, and at menopause of

[1] As mentioned earlier, 40% of women in this age group have yet to reach menopause, so the eventual means will be higher. Furthermore, about 40% of post-menopausal women in this age group had used a method of contraception prior to menopause, which has probably contributed to the unusually low mean age at last pregnancy. Very few women aged 50 and over had ever used a method of contraception.

47 years. Both sets of data compare closely with those for Ban Pong, where the overall mean age at last pregnancy is 37.9, and for menopause 45.5 years.

Apart from an average gap of between 2 and 4 years from menarche to first marriage, it might be said that the fecundity of women in Ban Pong is exploited to the fullest. A very small proportion of women never marry, well under 10% for all age groups over 25 (Table 69 Appendix 4)[1]. In the youngest age groups, with about 45% of those aged 20 to 24, and over 90% of those under 20, still unmarried at the time of the survey, it is not yet possible to predict whether a higher proportion than usual will remain unmarried in the long term (see Appendix 4).

The stability of marriage and the frequency of re-marriage in a population can have a significant impact on levels of fertility. Frequently interrupted periods of cohabitation, prolonged intervals between successive unions, and the failure of a divorced or widowed woman to re-marry whilst still of child-bearing age, can substantially reduce her reproductive potential. The stability of marriage in Ban Pong is discussed in detail in Appendix 5, but the most significant features are presented below.

Marriage in Ban Pong tends to be stable. Less than one in five of first marriages of 390 women under age 60 for whom detailed marital histories

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[1] Male celibacy, with delayed, or non-marriage of men entering the Buddhist monkhood, is unlikely to have had any impact on fertility patterns in Ban Pong since the proportion of men who have ever been monks is very small, only 5.2% of all males aged 20 and over. The majority of these men would have spent only a few months in the temple. A breakdown of the proportion of men ordained, by age (see Chapter 9, p.415, footnote 1), indicates higher rates among older men, but even so the rate does not rise above 9%.

were recorded, had ended in divorce (see Figure 18, Appendix 5). More than 70% of divorces had occurred within the first three years of marriage. Re-marriage is extremely common both for widows and divorcees: about 70% of women under 60 years, whose first marriage had ended in divorce or the death of the husband, had married for a second time (Figure 18, Appendix 5). Between 80% and 90% of women aged between 25 and 49 were married at the time of the survey, and it is likely that many of those currently divorced or widowed will remarry before the end of their fertile lives. Re-marriage tends to occur within a very short time of divorce or widowhood; of those women under 60 who had married for a second (or third) time, 45% did so within a year of the end of the previous marriage, and 75% within the first four years. Thus the majority of women in Ban Pong spend the large part of their fertile lives in a sexual union.

There are very few occasions during the fertile life of a married woman in Ban Pong when abstinence from intercourse is culturally imposed, and those occasions on which it is imposed are unlikely to have any significant effect on fertility. Intercourse during menstruation is not generally permissable in Ban Pong, since it is considered to be physically detrimental to both partners. Menstrual blood is believed to be a powerful and dangerous pollutant and intercourse with a menstruating women is said to put a man at risk of physical harm ranging from localised inflammation to leprosy, or spiritual defilement by the destruction of his magical power (see Irvine, n.d., Chapter 5). Women on the other hand, are said to avoid intercourse during menstruation because the womb is thought to open up at this time, and is thus vulnerable to physical

damage (see Mougne, 1978). The period of post-partum abstinence is generally short, being obligatory only for the first month.[1] There are no rules governing sexual behaviour on Buddhist Holy Days, wan phra', unless a couple is particularly concerned to observe the Precepts, sin. Adherence to the Precepts on such occasions is voluntary, and usually involves only the middle-aged and elderly members of the community. Again, unlike many societies, there are no rules concerning sexual behaviour in Ban Pong on occasions such as the death of a family member, or ritual events (see Nag, 1968:84-85).

Prolonged or frequent separation of spouses as a result of the growing need to seek seasonal or short-term employment outside the Valley (see Chapter 4), is likely to have some impact on fertility rates, as the performance of corvee labour duties would have done in the past (see Chapter 1, p.48, footnote 1). However, although adult married males represent a significant proportion of all short-term or seasonal migrants from Ban Pong (see Chapter 4, pp.191-194), less than 10% of all males aged 15 and over were involved in such movements, and the impact on the fertility of Village population as a whole is unlikely to be very great. The practice whereby some married men enter the monkhood during the slack period of the dry season, found in other parts of Thailand, was not observed in Ban Pong.

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[1] In many societies, post-partum abstinence extends until the last child has been weaned, which may be 2 years or more (Nag, 1968), and as such is likely to have a significant impact on fertility rates.

2.5 Factors Affecting Exposure to Conception

Factors affecting exposure to conception may be voluntary or involuntary. Primary or secondary sterility are the major involuntary causes. The incidence of primary sterility among women in Ban Pong is comparatively low. With the exception of the younger age groups, which include many women in the first years of marriage, well under 10% of ever-married women have never been pregnant (Table 9). If women under 30 years are excluded, the overall proportion of ever-married women who have never been pregnant is only 3.1%[1]. In terms of its potential influence on fertility rates for the entire population, this low incidence of primary sterility is unlikely to be of any significance.

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[1] Rates of primary sterility vary considerably from population to population, so that an average rate is difficult to determine. Sauvy (1969:350-351) states that the rate of primary sterility in women aged 20 is very low, less than 5%, rising to about 10% by age 30, and over 30% by age 40. These figures are approximate, and presumably carry the implication that the rate of primary sterility is largely dependent on the age at which women enter sexual unions, in other words, 5% of women who commence childbearing at age 20 will never become pregnant, as compared to 30% of those who commence childbearing at age 40. The Royal Commission on Population (1950:35) gives the average rate of sterility among married women in Great Britain as 5-8%. Lorimer (1954:300) gives a figure of about 4% for sterility among Ashanti women aged 35 and over. In the figures for Ban Pong (Table 9), it is interesting to note that there is a higher than average rate of nulligravidity among women aged 35-44. This is reflected in their overall lower than average fertility as will be seen later in this chapter. It is impossible to determine whether or not this reflects genuine sterility, or instead a decision by some of these women, and their husbands, to remain childless.

Table 9

Proportion of Nulligravid[1] Women
Ever-Married Women, Ban Pong, 1973 (per cent)

Current Age Group	Proportion Nulligravid	Current Age Group	Proportion Nulligravid
15-19	50.0	45-49	1.8
20-24	12.2	50-54	1.8
25-29	11.3	55-59	0
30-34	3.1	60-64	3.2
35-39	7.1	65-69	0
40-44	6.7	70 plus	1.7

The incidence of secondary sterility[2] is more difficult to determine, since it becomes confused with the various factors involved with the decline in fecundity with advancing age, discussed earlier. Slightly more than 20% of women who remained married until the menopause had had their last pregnancy before the age of 35. Although a few such cases of earlier than average cessation of childbearing can be explained by use of contraception, it is likely that many of the women had experienced secondary sterility.

Sterility can also be induced voluntarily, either by the use of a reversable method of contraception, or by permanent surgical sterilisation. Patterns of acceptance of contraception in Ban Pong will be discussed in detail later (see Chapter 5), but for the purposes of the present discussion, I will present figures for general levels of practice among Village women. Following the introduction of a family

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[1] i.e. never been pregnant.

[2] Secondary sterility can occur as a result of factors such as physical trauma during delivery, infection following childbirth, or more rarely, from hormonal imbalance. I have described in detail elsewhere current childbirth practices in Ban Pong (Mougne:1978). In view of the lack of sterile technique used by traditional village midwives, I would suggest that secondary sterility may often be a result of post-partal infection.

planning programme to Ban Pong early in 1967, the number of women using a 'modern'[1] method of contraception rose rapidly. Prior to the beginning of the programme, only 5.4% of eligible women[2] were using a method (McDaniel and Pardthaisong, 1973). By 1973, the proportion of eligible women using a method of contraception had stabilised at around 40%. However, over 60% of women had used a method at some time since the introduction of the programme (Table 10).

Table 10

Contraceptive Practice by Age, Eligible Women, Ban Pong, 1973 (per cent)

Current Age Group	Currently Using a Method	Ever used a Method[3]	Never used a Method
15-19 (12)	25.0	41.7	58.3
20-24 (35)	48.6	62.9	37.1
25-29 (38)	47.3	68.4	31.6
30-34 (63)	41.3	68.3	31.7
35-39 (54)	37.0	55.5	44.5
40-44 (58)	39.7	56.9	43.1
45 plus (18)	22.2	55.5	44.4

The potential negative effect of such high levels of contraceptive practice[4] on fertility levels in Ban Pong, is strengthened further when some characteristics of women who had never used contraception are taken

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[1] i.e. pills, DMPA (injectable contraceptive) and IUDs (inter-uterine devices). Condoms, diaphragms and vaginal pessaries had been used by only a very small minority of women in Ban Pong.

[2] The term 'eligible' refers to women who are currently married and still menstruating; i.e. they are potentially at risk of pregnancy.

[3] 'Ever-use' includes current users, and those who had discontinued use of a method of contraception prior to the time of the survey.

[4] In their study of Thai women conducted during 1969-70, Knodel and Prachuabmoh found that only 11.4% of rural women were currently using a method as compared to 31.6% of urban women (1974:447). Jones and Rachapaetayakom, in a study of rural women in Northern Thailand conducted in mid-1969, found that 10.4% of couples were currently practising contraception, with rates highest among women aged 25-34 (1970). However, following the introduction of the National Family Planning Programme in 1970, rates of contraceptive practice among rural women increased rapidly to 23% by 1972, and 35% by 1975 (Cleland et al; 1979:10).

into consideration. Almost one third of women who had never used a method (by 1973) were over 35 years of age, and had experienced their last pregnancy at least five years earlier. A further 11% had been married for five years or more without becoming pregnant. Thus, over 40% of women who had never used contraception were, presumably, either sterile or sub-fertile. The impact of these women's non-use of contraception on overall fertility rates is therefore likely to be minimal. Furthermore, many of the other women who had never used contraception were either newly married, planning another pregnancy, currently pregnant or breastfeeding. The majority of these women said that they intended to practise contraception once they had had their desired number of children[1].

In 1973, only a small number of women in Ban Pong had been surgically sterilised (2.3%), and no man in the village had had a vasectomy. However, during that year a new, low-cost method of tubal sterilisation was offered at one of the Chiengmai hospitals and a further 9 women had been sterilised by the time of my 1974 survey. Many of the younger women who were still in the process of completing their families, said that they planned to have the operation once they had had the desired number of children. If this proves to be the case, the long-term effects on fertility of the population of Ban Pong will be substantial.

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[1] Most younger married women stated that they wanted only two, or at the most three children to complete their families.

The effect of lactation on extending the period of post-partum infertility has been well documented[1]. It appears that breast-feeding is moderately effective in delaying the resumption of ovulation, provided that suckling is maintained on a regular and frequent basis. In Ban Pong, infants are breast-fed 'on demand', although supplementary feeding of pre-masticated rice and banana is often introduced as early as one week after birth[2]. In some societies the introduction of bottle feeding, often viewed as a desirable 'modern' practice, has had the effect of increasing fertility, possibly because of the resulting decrease in the period of post-partum amenhorroea[3]. This is not, as yet, a problem in Ban Pong, where bottle feeding is used only in the rare cases of women who have insufficient breast milk to satisfy their babies. However there is some evidence to suggest that younger women in Ban Pong are suckling their babies for a shorter time than in the past. All eligible women were asked to estimate the average number of months that they had breast-fed their babies. Over 60% of women over 25 had usually breast-fed for at least one year, while less than 40% of women under 25

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[1] For example, a study of urban Philippino women indicated that among the 80% who breastfed their babies for more than 3 months, the average period of post-partum amenorrhoea was 8 months, while for non-lactating mothers the period was only 3.5 months (Population Report, 1975:158). Similarly, among a non-contracepting population of Guatemalan Indians, the mean interval between births where the child survived and was breastfed, was 27.9 months, as compared to only 16.8 months where the child died shortly after birth (Hinshaw, Pyeatt and Habicht, 1972).

[2] 28% of eligible women who had at least one liveborn child had given supplementary feeding within the first week of life, 59% within the first month, and 71% within the first 6 months.

[3] However, it is likely that the increase in fertility following the introduction of bottle feeding is also attributable to the earlier resumption of intercourse in societies where abstinence is imposed during lactation. (See Nag, 1968:77-82)

had done so for this length of time[1]. However, since this apparent change is so recent, and since many of the younger women have been contraceptive users, it is not possible to determine the impact on fertility of this reduction in the period of lactation.

2.6 Factors Affecting the Outcome of Pregnancy

Once a pregnancy has been established, its successful outcome may be prevented by involuntary means, spontaneous miscarriage or stillbirth, or voluntary means, induced abortion or infanticide. The incidence of such events is often extremely difficult to measure reliably, either because they are more likely to have been forgotten than livebirths, or because they are culturally censored and therefore unlikely to be reported consistently. Thus there is a high probability that records of such events are considerably underestimated, especially in the case of abortion and infanticide. Furthermore, early miscarriages may not even be recognised as such, but seen simply as a late menstrual period[2]. Perhaps infanticide is one of the most difficult events to quantify since, in some cases, it may occur indirectly, rather than being a conscious act. The neglect of an unwanted child leading to its early death through malnutrition or disease, is unlikely to be recognised as deliberate infanticide by the parent, and is even less likely to be reported as such. A further complicating factor is that such events may

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[1] Similarly, Knodel and Prachuabmoh (1974:443) writing about Thai rural women in general, refer to 'a slight tendency for younger mothers to wean their children at a younger age'. However, there would appear to be considerable regional variation in the length of breastfeeding. For example, in Northeast Thailand the average duration is at least two years (C. Dixon, personal communication).

[2] For example, 'Ashanti women usually take a pregnancy to be established only when two successive menstrual periods have passed without the catamenia occuring. The common opinion is that birth takes place in the tenth lunar month after conception.' (Fortes, 1954:270)

be deliberately mis-reported; induced abortions may be reported as miscarriages, stillbirths as perinatal deaths, and so on[1]. This range of limitations should be borne in mind when considering the data on pregnancy wastage for any population.

In all, there were 367 ever-married women aged under 60 in Ban Pong[2] in 1973 from whom detailed pregnancy histories were recorded, 341 of whom had had at least one pregnancy. Between them, these fertile women had had a total of 1827 pregnancies, a mean of 5.4, by the time of the survey. Only 137, or 7.5%, of the pregnancies were reported as miscarriages or abortions[3]. At the time of the survey, only 11 of the 137 were said to be induced abortions, but in subsequent interviews at least one informant admitted to having misreported her abortions as miscarriages. Since I have no way of knowing how many other women did the same thing, I will treat miscarriages and abortions as one category for the present analysis.

In general discussion with women in Ban Pong, the view was often expressed that, prior to the 1950s, abortion had been extremely rare in the village, occurring only in unusual circumstances such as a pregnant, unmarried girl who was unable to find a husband. However, the consensus

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[1] The comparison of the incidence of such events in different societies is also hindered by a lack of consistency in the terminology used by investigators (see Nag, 1968:138).

[2] Since the likelihood of a woman forgetting a pregnancy which did not result in a livebirth probably increases with age, I have excluded women over 60 from these calculations.

[3] Smith (1970) suggests a rate of 15% of all pregnancies lost through spontaneous miscarriage. Lorimer gives an average estimate of 12.5% for total pregnancy wastage (including stillbirths), but points out that this figure 'must be far higher in some unhealthy situations' (1954:45). Although my figure for miscarriages in Ban Pong is closer to that given by Lorimer for the Ashanti (5.3%), it seems likely that both of these are considerably under-estimated.

of opinion was that over the past twenty years or so abortion had become comparatively common amongst married women, although its practice had declined since the introduction of the Family Planning Programme. Even so, some women (not identified by my informants) were still said to be using abortion as a means of fertility control[1].

Interpretation of these data is complicated by two factors: first, one would expect younger women to have had fewer of all types of pregnancy than older women, and second, as mentioned earlier, the older women are more likely to have forgotten pregnancies that did not lead to a live birth. Nevertheless, the fact that the mean number of miscarriages/ abortions for women now aged 55-59 is more than three times higher than for those aged 60-64, and for those aged 40-54, more than twice as high (see Table 12, p.111), is strongly suggestive of a definite, sudden change in fertility behaviour.

Only 28 of all 1827 pregnancies reported by fertile women under 60 were described as stillbirths, a rate of only 16.6 per 1000 births. Macfarlane (1976:274) gives a rate of 15.8 per 1000 for Gurung women, but admits (ibid:249) that this figure seriously underestimates the actual incidence of such events. A similar rate of 15 per 1000 is given for Pueblo Indian women (Aberle, 1931). However, the stillbirth rate for Great Britain in 1928 was as high as 40 per 1000 births, declining to 28 per 1000 in 1945, and to 14.3 in 1968 (Smith, 1970:209). In view of the vast differences in standards of nutrition and public health in

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[1] The practice of abortion in Ban Pong is discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 5, pp. 214-215).

rural Thailand, Nepal and Guatemala, as compared to present-day Britain, I would suggest that the data for all three rural communities are greatly underestimated, and that the actual rates may be closer to the 1928 figure for Great Britain.

Despite the general reluctance of people to admit to the practice of infanticide, in some societies it is possible to identify its use with considerable certainty, if it is selective according to sex. In a small, isolated community, selective infanticide will result in an acute imbalance in the sex ratio at certain ages[1]. However, in a community where migration is a significant demographic factor, particularly if this involves movement of individuals (rather than of family units) to exploit work opportunities outside the home community, variations in the sex ratio become more difficult to interpret. Although there are considerable variations in the sex ratio for Ban Pong at different age groups (Table 11), the ratio of the population as a whole is more or less balanced. Furthermore, since certain sections of the population of Ban Pong are highly mobile (Table 35, Chapter 4, p.200), it is impossible to make any assumptions about selective infanticide. None of my informants gave any indication that infanticide is, or ever has been, practised in Ban Pong. However, an informant from another village in Chiengmai Province confided that under adverse conditions it is not unusual for a newly-parturient woman to pinch the nose of her newborn child, before it has taken its first breath. I am unable to verify this assertion, nor to assess the degree to which it may have occurred in Ban Pong.

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[1] Douglas (1966) refers to a striking example of selective infanticide reported for the Netsikik Eskimos of Pelly Bay by Rasmussen (1931) and Balikci (1967).

Table 11

Sex Ratios, Ban Pong, 1973
(Males per 100 females)

Age Group	Sex Ratio
0-9	105
10-19	90
20-29	114
30-39	101
40-49	106
50-59	93
60-69	104
70 plus	97
Total Village Population	100

The impact of patterns of mortality and migration on the sex ratio of Ban Pong's population will be discussed in the following two chapters. However, at this stage it should be noted that in most cases the high or low sex ratios[1] are a result of fairly small differences in actual numbers of men and women in a particular age group.

2.7 Changing Patterns of Fertility in Ban Pong

I would now like to turn to look at the way in which fertility patterns in Ban Pong have changed over recent decades. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, much of the data presented here were drawn from fertility histories taken for all ever-married women living in the village in 1973. I have emphasised that there are some inadequacies in the data, not only in the underreporting or misreporting of fetal

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[1] A low sex ratio (i.e. fewer men than women) will be less than 100, while a high sex ratio (i.e. more men than women) will be more than 100.

losses, but also in the progressive likelihood of events being forgotten by older women. The figures given for women over 60 should therefore be treated with caution, but have been included here for the sake of completeness. The data will be presented in two different ways: first, as the experience of groups of women by five year birth cohorts, and second, as cumulative events occurring over time, presented for periods of three consecutive years[1]. I shall conclude this chapter with an examination of data on births in Ban Pong as given in the Registration records, in order to see how the crude birth rate in Ban Pong compares with those found for the larger administrative units mentioned in the previous chapter.

In Table 12, all pregnancies are presented as a mean for each age group, according to outcome. In view of the small numbers of fetal losses reported, miscarriages, abortions and stillbirths are here presented as a single category. As anticipated, the mean number of pregnancies reported by the oldest women is lower than for other women of completed fertility (i.e. post-menopausal women).

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[1] Information concerning cohorts of women are for five year age groups in accordance with the standard method of presentation in the literature. However, data presented for specific time periods is given for intervals of three years, since single years would be too cumbersome to allow clear presentation, while five year periods tend to obscure important short-term changes.

Table 12

Mean Gravidity by Outcome of Pregnancy, Ever-married Women, Ban Pong, 1973

Current Age Group	Total Pregnancies	Living Children	Liveborn[1] Infants	Fetal Losses
15-19	0.6	0.5	0.6	0
20-24	1.4	1.05	1.33	0.07
25-29	2.3	1.7	2.16	0.14
30-34	3.2	2.3	3.12	0.08
35-39	3.6	2.8	3.3	0.3
40-44	4.8	3.5	4.23	0.57
45-49	6.1	3.7	5.6	0.50
50-54	6.5	4.0	5.97	0.53
55-59	6.9	3.9	6.18	0.72
60-64	4.1[2]	2.5	3.9	0.2
65-69	5.8[2]	2.9	5.76	0.04
70 plus	3.2[2]	2.1	3.01	0.19

Table 12 illustrates two important demographic changes which have occurred in Ban Pong over recent decades: firstly, there has been a gradual increase in the survival rate of liveborn infants over time[3],

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[1] Comparative data for mean number of births for each age group in other rural populations in Thailand indicate higher rates for all age groups.

a) Jones and Rachapaetayakom (1970:17), for 538 women in North Thailand;

15-19	0.83	35-39	5.00
20-24	1.91	40-44	6.48
25-29	2.98	45-49	7.51
30-34	4.42		

b) Knodel and Prachuabmoh (1974:429), for 1481 rural women in Thailand;

15-19	0.69	35-39	5.80	55 plus	6.62
20-24	1.41	40-44	6.89		
25-29	2.82	45-49	6.69		
30-34	4.22	50-54	6.64		

c) 1970 Census (Rural Population);

15-19	0.74	35-39	5.68	55-59	6.39
20-24	1.84	40-44	6.52	60 plus	6.06
25-29	3.10	45-49	6.70		
30-34	4.42	50-54	6.53		

[2] The lower mean gravidity for women over 60 may partly be due to a failure in memory of older women, but it is also, to some extent, indicative of earlier lower rates of fertility prior to a peak in the 1950s which occurred after most women in these age groups had ceased childbearing (Table 15).

[3] For detailed discussion of infant mortality rates, see Chapter 3.

and secondly, there has been a gradual decrease in the mean number of total pregnancies for women under 55. Since the mean age at last pregnancy for post-menopausal women is under 40 (Table 8), it is unlikely that women now aged 40-44 or 45-49, who are still fertile, will have a sufficient number of additional pregnancies before reaching the menopause, to significantly increase the mean figure for these age groups. One can assume, therefore, that the mean number of total pregnancies given in Table 12 closely approximates the upper limit for these age groups. Thus the decline which has occurred in the mean number of total pregnancies for women under 55, down to those aged 40, is quite dramatic. Although it is not possible to predict, with any certainty, the eventual completed fertility rates of women now under 40, in view of the high rates of contraceptive practice among currently eligible women in Ban Pong, (Table 10 and see Chapter 5), it is likely that the downward trend observed for older women will continue in the future.

The mean number of pregnancies or livebirths is a rather gross measure, since it does not allow comparisons to be made between women of completed fertility and those who are still of reproductive age. Age-specific fertility rates permit a closer examination of changing patterns, by giving the number of pregnancies, as a rate per 1000 women in each age group, at particular stages in their lives. Thus one is able to compare fertility at specific ages for women in all age groups, to determine whether or not there has been any modification in behaviour over time (Table 13). Furthermore, the total fertility rate for the population can be derived from the sum of age specific rates, giving a figure for cumulative fertility for periods of five years (Table 14).

Table 13

Age-Specific Fertility Rates: Ever-married Women, Ban Pong, 1973

Current Age Group	Age-specific fertility rates per 1000 women 15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
15-19	(117)[1]	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-24	102	(176)[1]	-	-	-	-	-
25-29	109	268	(77)[1]	-	-	-	-
30-34	95	289	160	(105)[1]	-	-	-
35-39	25	239	261	157	(39)[1]	-	-
40-44	29	264	320	216	96	(29)[1]	-
45-49	48	244	344[2]	296	207	85	(0)[1]
50-54	96	257	275	275	246	136	11
55-59	152	296	214	255	324	124	7
60-64	13	146	200	186	146	133	53
65-69	0	100	262	287	287	262	125
70-74	10	130	220	320	240	190	140
75 plus	0	66	333	216	333	216	200

Table 14

Total Fertility Rates, Ever-married Women, Ban Pong, 1939-1973.

Time Period	Total Fertility Rate[3]
1939-43	6910
1944-48	6755
1949-53	7450
1954-58	6865
1959-63	6125
1964-68	4395
1969-73	2715

[1] Figures in brackets are for cohorts which have not yet fully passed through the age in question and might therefore be expected to rise. For those under 25 years, the figure is likely to fall, since many women in these age groups are still unmarried.

[2] The maximum age-specific fertility rate for Ban Pong women (344/1000) is quite low by European historical standards (Macfarlane, personal communication).

[3] These figures are calculated by adding age specific rates for each successive age group, multiplied by 5, for each period of 5 years. Thus the rate for 1944-48 = 5 x(29+244+275+255+146+262+140) = 6755.

To facilitate interpretation of the age-specific fertility rates given in Table 13, they are presented below in the form of a graph (Figure 5). Table 13 and Figure 5 illustrate the levels of fertility of women in each age group as they have passed through their fertile lives. Explanations for the variations shown must inevitably be a matter for speculation, since it can not be said with any certainty what has caused women in particular age groups to modify their fertility behaviour. However, the following observations may be made. In each successive age group under 55, women in Ban Pong have gradually brought back their peak of fertility, from the early thirties, to the late twenties, as well as reducing the overall rates. Thus women now aged 55-59 show comparatively high rates at all ages[1], with a late peak in their late thirties. Women in the next three age groups (50-54, 45-49 and 40-44) show increasingly low rates in their early twenties, compensated for by very high rates during their thirties, then beginning to cut back their fertility in their fourties. Much of the peak figure for the total fertility rate in the period 1949-53 is the result of 'delayed fertility' by women in these age groups. It is also likely that this trend was further stimulated by the high rates of infant mortality in the village during the previous decade (Table 22, Chapter 3, p.143). The rates for women under 40 show yet another pattern, with the peak of fertility occurring increasingly early, and with a rapid decline from age thirty onwards.

Total fertility rates (Table 14) show a slight fall in the mid-1940s, followed by a substantial rise in the late 1940s to early 1950s, then a rapid decline after the late 1950s. In order to clarify the way in

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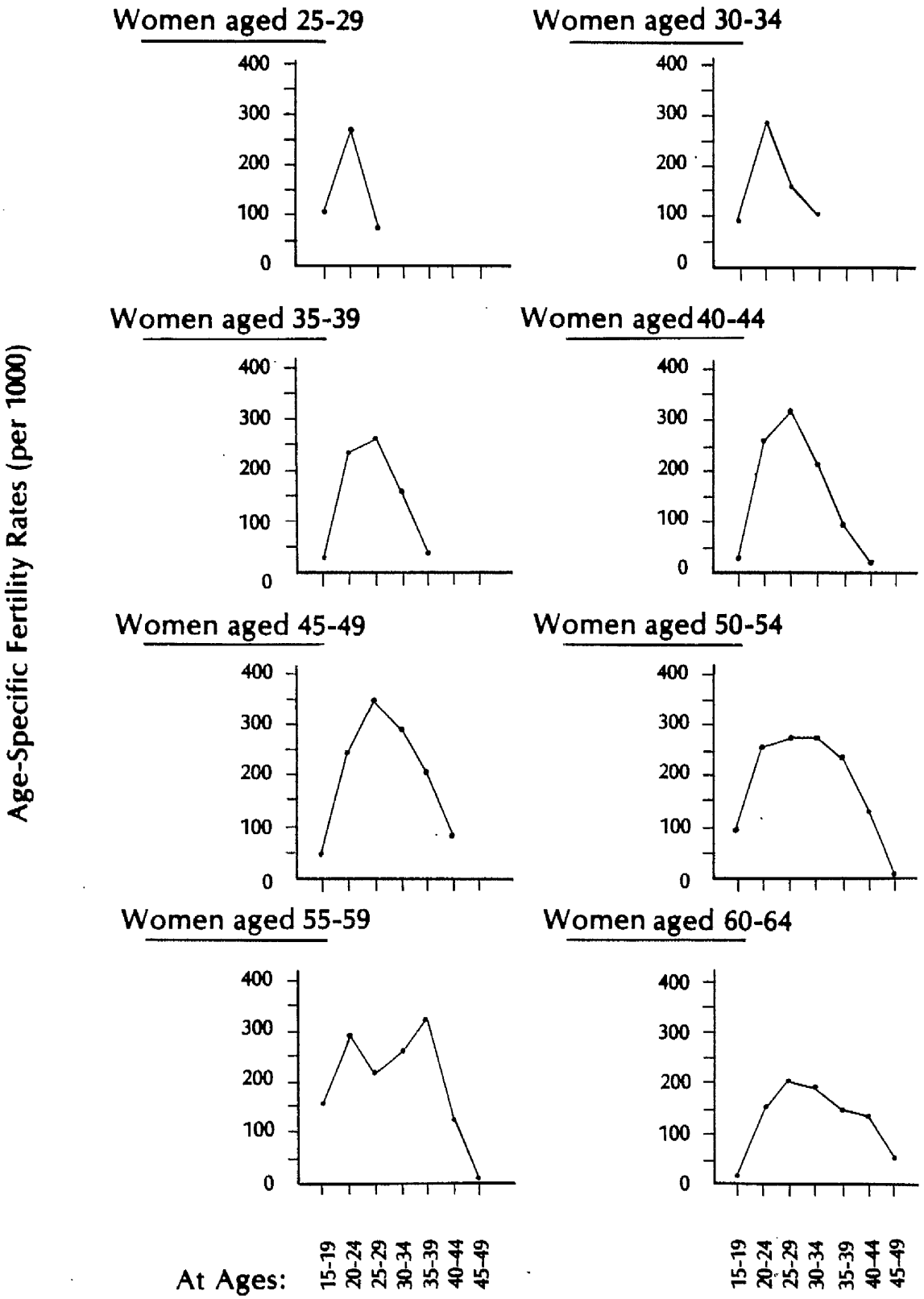
[1] See Palmore (1971:18) for highest and lowest rates in selected populations.

Figure 5: Age-Specific Fertility Rates for Selected Age Groups



which these changes have occurred over time, the number of pregnancies experienced by women in the survey in each year have been analysed according to the number of women who were eligible at the time. In order to calculate this figure, it was necessary to examine the marital histories of all ever-married women, and to plot out the year in which each of them had married, been divorced, widowed, remarried, or reached the menopause. The number of eligible women in each three-year period is therefore approximate, since the exact figure would vary from year to year, even from month to month[1]. Nevertheless, despite this approximation the figures reflect clearly the trend found in the total fertility rates with the mean number of pregnancies per eligible woman increasing rapidly during the early 1950s, reaching a peak in the mid to late 1950s, and declining rapidly thereafter (Table 15).

Table 15

Mean Pregnancies per Eligible Woman[2], 1938-1973

Time Period	Average No. of Eligible Women	Total Pregnancies to Eligible Women	Mean Pregnancies Per Eligible Woman During Time Period
1938-40	112	45	0.40
1941-43	125	86	0.69
1944-46	144	82	0.57
1947-49	176	104	0.59
1950-52	198	157	0.79
1953-55	217	197	0.91
1956-58	241	243	1.01
1959-61	260	232	0.89
1962-64	284	214	0.75
1965-67	286	178	0.62
1968-70	284	118	0.41
1971-73	281	111	0.39

[1]The inherent bias discussed earlier (p.88), relating to the fact that the data reflect the fertility experiences of a survivor population, should be borne in mind here, since in the earlier years included in the Table it is likely that many more women who were fertile at the time will have since died than in the case of more recent years. However, I would suggest that this bias is unlikely to have had much influence on the marked changes observed after 1950.

[2]It should be noted here that 'eligible' women in this Table do not represent the same women as those 'currently eligible' in Table 10 above, and Table 16 below.

These marked, and substantial changes in mean number of pregnancies per eligible woman, over time, would suggest that although, as we saw earlier, the patterns of fertility at particular ages varies from cohort to cohort, the women in Ban Pong have responded, as a group, in modifying their fertility behaviour over recent decades. For example, the figure of 1.01 pregnancies per eligible woman during the period 1956-58 means that during those three years, on average, every eligible woman had at least one pregnancy. In contrast, fifteen years later, during the period 1971-73, an average of well under half of all eligible women had a pregnancy.

The low overall number of births among currently eligible women in recent years, and the distribution of these births according to age, can be seen in Table 16, which gives age-specific birth rates[1] for three consecutive single years between March 1972 to March 1975. These figures are derived from the village censuses taken during fieldwork, when each birth occurring during the past twelve months was recorded. The censuses were taken in March 1973, 1974 and 1975[2]. The age specific birth rates for the three single years are very similar, with large variations occurring only in the youngest and oldest age groups, due to the small numbers of women involved. The majority of births have occurred to women under 30, after which age-specific rates are extremely low. The total birth rate for the three years (i.e. the sum of the age-specific rates) is an average of 363 births per 1000 women, or 0.36 per woman, which reflects closely the trend seen in Table 15.

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[1] Note that the figures given in Table 16 are for livebirths, whereas those in Tables 13, 14 and 15 are for all pregnancies. However, in view of the small proportion of reported fetal wastage (10% of all pregnancies in recent years), this does not limit comparability of the tables.

[2] Figures for the period 1974-5 were taken from a survey conducted after I had left the field, by my assistant, Ms Sirirat Atsana.

Table 16

Age-specific Marital Birth Rates, Eligible Women, Ban Pong, 1972-75

(Births per 1000 currently eligible women)

Current Age Group	Age-specific rates 1972-3	1973-4	1974-5
15-19	250	167	250
20-24	314	257	257
25-29	158	184	158
30-34	79	79	95
35-39	92	37	92
40-44	69	34	86
45 plus	0	111	0
Total (avge)	122	104	137

Before concluding this analysis of fertility change in Ban Pong, I would like to look at the evidence given in the Vital Registration record, to see the extent to which this substantiates my own findings. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Registration data in Thailand have certain limitations, particularly for the smaller administrative units. However, data on births registered for Ban Pong were available for the years 1965 to 1972, and I was able to add the figures for 1973 and 1974 from my own research. Calculation of the crude birth rate for the village over this period was hampered by the lack of accurate figures on the total village population for each year. Consequently I have had to estimate population size for each year by working back from my own census figures for 1973 and 1974, and the two figures given by McDaniel for 1967 and 1969, using the registration data for births, deaths and movement in and out of Ban Pong, back to 1965.

Table 17

Estimated Crude Birth Rate, Ban Pong, 1965-1974

Year	Total Population	Total Births Registered	CBR/1000
1965	1885*	76	40.3
1966	1938*	65	33.5
1967	1941	62	32.0
1968	2005*	40	20.0
1969	2070	32	15.5
1970	2089*	28	13.4
1971	2083*	35	16.8
1972	2079	40	19.2
1973	2110	26	12.3
1974	2090	30	14.3

*Estimate

The estimated crude birth rates for Ban Pong show comparatively high, but declining rates up to 1968, since when there has been a rapid fall, similar to that found in Inthakhin Sub-district and Mae Taeng District, Tables 2 and 3, Chapter 1, p.79). On the basis of the Registration data therefore, it may be assumed that the pattern of fertility change occurring in Ban Pong reflects that of most other villages in the vicinity.

SUMMARY

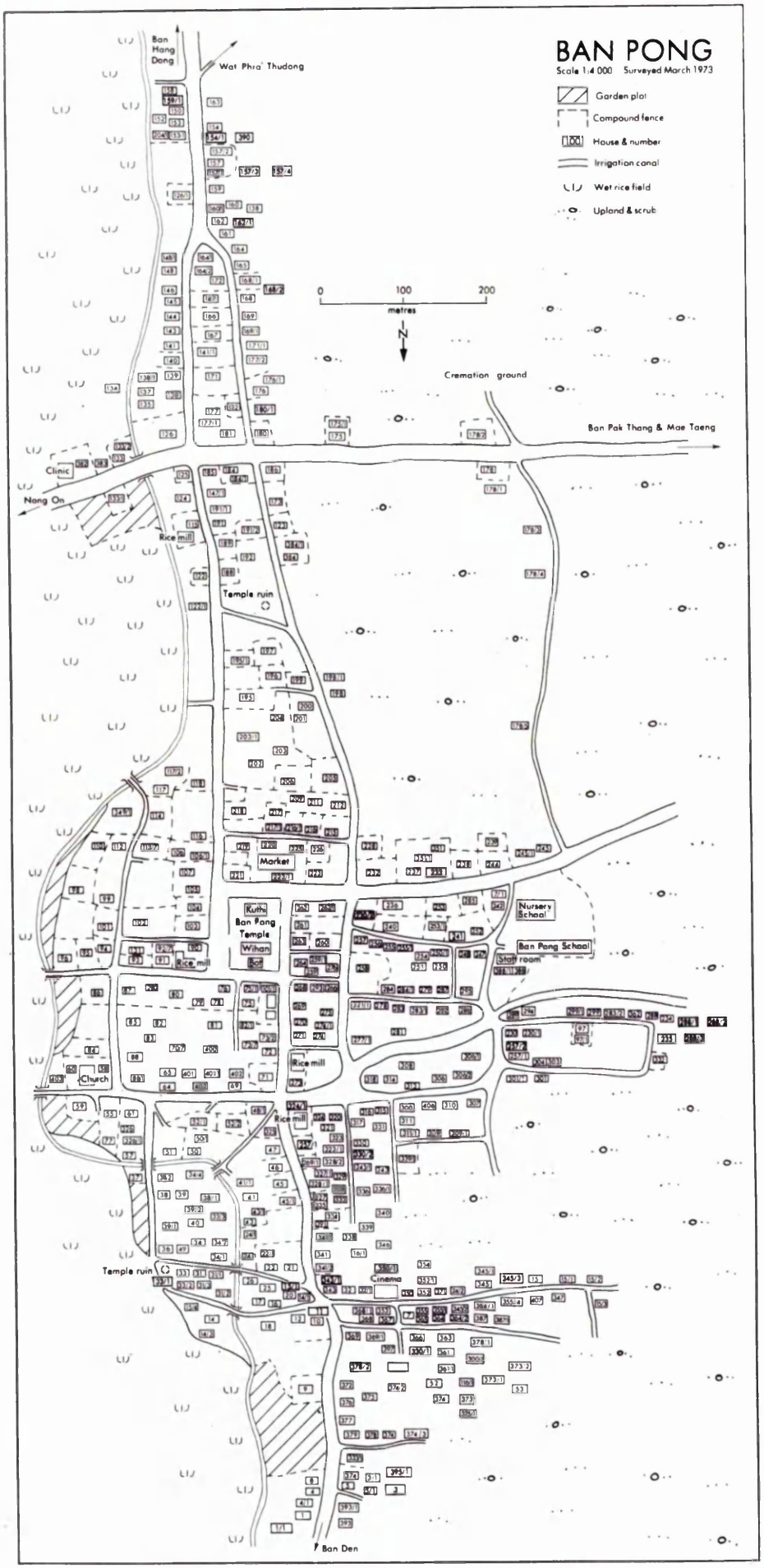
In the first part of this chapter I examined a number of 'intermediary variables' which have been found to influence patterns of human fertility, to see the extent to which they have modified the fertility of women in Ban Pong in recent decades. As in most populations in the developing countries, the potential fertile period for women in Ban Pong

is expanding, as age at menarche falls and age at menopause rises. Whilst age at marriage has not varied greatly over time, there have been fluctuations in the mean age at first pregnancy. Among women under 60, there was a steady rise in the mean age at first pregnancy, with a peak for women now aged 40-44, since which the mean has gradually fallen. Post-menopausal women in the village had a high mean age at last pregnancy, similar to that found in other non-contraccpting, peasant societies. In general, the fecundity of Ban Pong women is maximised, with very few women remaining single, comparatively stable marriage, and a high rate of remarriage with a short interval between marriages. Culturally imposed periods of abstinence tend to coincide with those times when a woman is least likely to conceive, and are therefore unlikely to have any impact on fertility. Rates of primary sterility are low.

The combination of these factors has encouraged high rates of fertility until fairly recently. The incidence of pregnancy wastage through miscarriage, abortion and stillbirth was low, although the data were limited by an apparent tendency to under-report or misreport such events. The major check on the natural fecundity of women in the community in the early part of the period studied, were high rates of infant mortality, to be discussed in detail in the following chapter. However, there is evidence to support the general impression given by a number of informants, of an increase in the practice of induced abortion in the late 1950s, at a time when rapidly falling infant mortality rates and a post-war rise in fertility, had resulted in substantial natural growth rates within the community. In view of the inadequacy of the data on the

incidence of induced abortion, it is not possible to determine the extent to which its increased practice is responsible for the decline in birth rates in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, it is clear that the initial decline in fertility was largely the result of a reduction in livebirths among women who were in the mid-to-late stages of their fertile lives at that time.

The most significant factor influencing fertility of Ban Pong women since the late 1960s, has been the widespread acceptance of modern contraceptive methods following the introduction of a family planning programme to the Village in 1967. Since this time the age-specific fertility rates have declined for women in all age groups, particularly in the case of women aged between 20-29, commonly the ages at which women experience the highest fertility rates. Between 1967 and 1974, the crude birth rate for Ban Pong fell by more than 50%. This most recent and important factor in fertility change in Ban Pong will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.


BAN PONG
Scale 1:4 000 Surveyed March 1973
Garden plot
Compound fence
House & number
Irrigation canal
Wet rice field
Upland & scrub
0 100 200
metres
N
Ban Hang Dong
Wat Phra Thudong
Cremation ground
Ban Pak Thang & Mae Taeng
Clinic
Nong On
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Market
Kuthi
Ban Pong Temple
Wihan
Rice mill
Nursery School
Ban Pong School
Staff room
Rice mill
Church
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Cinema
Ban Den

MAP 7

Ban Pong Village Map

CHAPTER 3

CHANGING PATTERNS OF MORTALITY IN BAN PONG

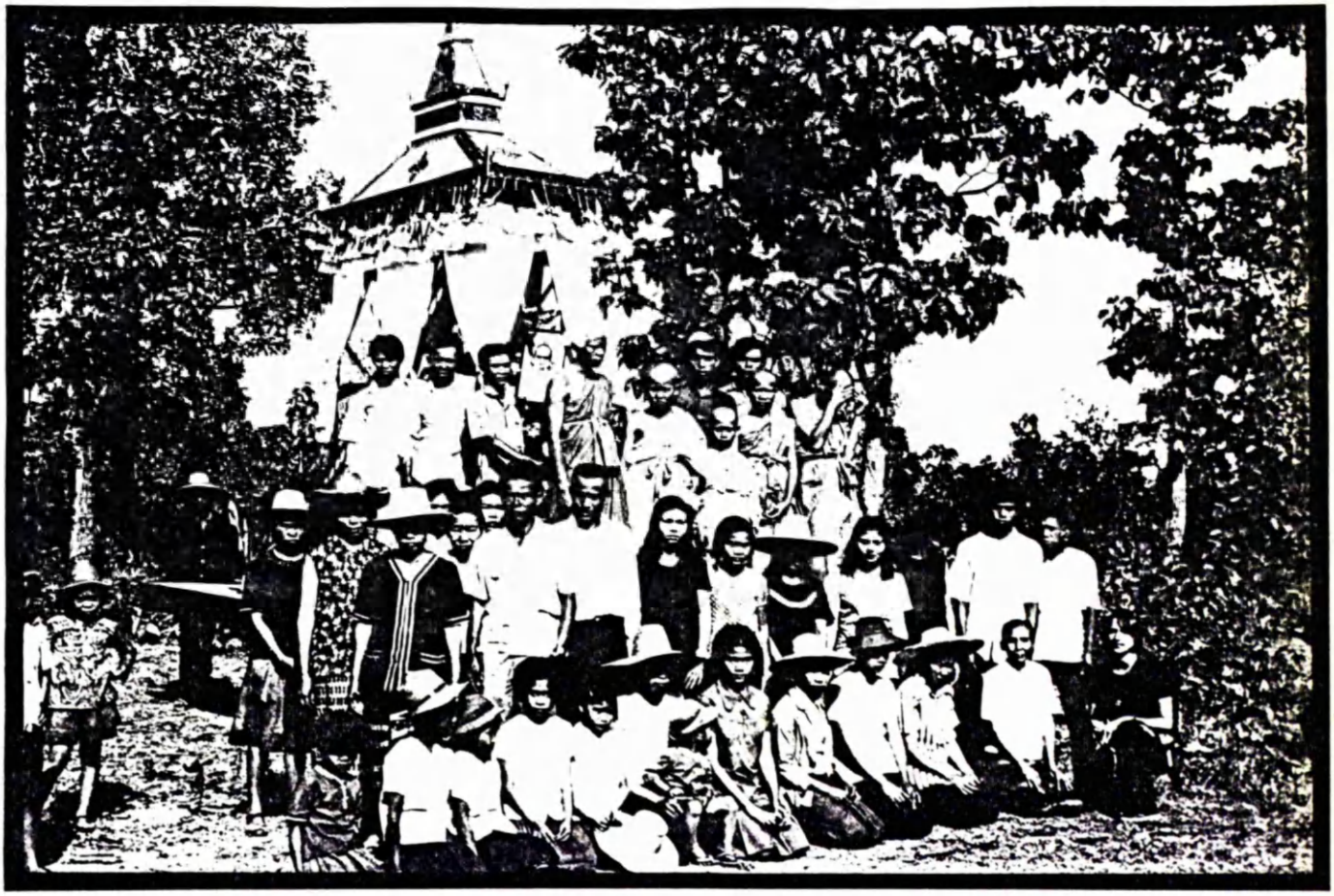


PLATE 3: The funeral of Ui Ma Sri'amphon (January 1974)

3. Introduction

In this chapter I examine changing patterns of mortality in Ban Pong, and look at the way in which such changes have influenced the population structure of the community. In the first section I discuss some of the determinants of mortality, and the impact of development on the incidence and causes of death. I then look briefly at changing patterns of mortality in Thailand as a whole, and at the types of health services available to the rural population. Mortality in Ban Pong is investigated, using registration and survey data, with particular emphasis on changing patterns of infant mortality. Some of the intermediary variables influencing infant mortality are examined in an attempt to see how changes in such factors have modified survival rates of infants born in recent decades. Variations over time in the causes of adult deaths, and the impact of changing mortality patterns on the age structure of the population of Ban Pong, are discussed at the end of the chapter.

3.1 Theoretical Aspects of Mortality

Little is known about either the incidence or the causes of death in small-scale societies. A major problem in the analysis of mortality in a small community in a country such as Thailand is the scarcity of data. Registrations of deaths in such communities are either non-existant or grossly under-reported[1]. With a few notable exceptions (Firth, 1957; Macfarlane, 1976), anthropologists have tended to ignore this critical element of population structure, perhaps to an even greater degree than fertility. Until recently it was often assumed that small-scale, isolated populations without access to modern medical facilities, were typified by fairly constant high death rates which more or less matched the presumed high rates of fertility (Notestein et al, 1944). Kunstadter (1972), however, feels that this assumption is incorrect, and that death rates in small communities in the past are more likely to have been low-to-medium, with intermittent peaks resulting from natural disasters such as floods, insect plagues, crop failures leading to chronic food shortages and, particularly in the denser populations of more recent times, epidemic diseases. Such patterns correspond closely to those described by Wrigley for pre-industrial populations in Europe (1969:62-80).

If Kunstadter's theory is correct, such periodic fluctuations would have produced enormous variations in the age structure of a small community from one generation to the next.

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[1] See Cassen (1978:78-79).

> 'During non-epidemic periods, the proportions of children in the population would grow rapidly. As this cohort reached reproductive years, the crude birth rate would increase and the population growth would accelerate. After the epidemic the 'normal' age structure would be disrupted, the crude birth rate would drop, and the population growth would not accelerate until a new expanded cohort reached reproductive age. The exact effects would depend on the periodicity of the epidemics and the age distribution of mortality. Long-term average annual rates would give no clue to these effects.' (Kunstadter, 1972:316-317)

The impact on social structure of such long-term variations in age structure caused by patterns of mortality, coupled with the random fluctuations in the sex ratio at birth, (the effects of which are greatest in small populations), should not be underestimated. Both the numbers, and the proportion, of men and women in each age group of a community, at different points in time, will influence many aspects of social and economic organisation. It is for this reason that Kunstadter argues that 'man's social structures must always have had to have flexibility in order to survive the 'random' demographic variations which occur in small populations' (ibid:319).

According to Kunstadter, small, isolated communities are less likely to have been exposed to infectious agents, than larger, more concentrated populations:

> 'We might predict...that many diseases (those dependent on human hosts, with short periods of contagion and conferring immunity) could not have reappeared frequently in human populations during most of prehistory, because population concentrations and numbers of succeptible individuals would have been too small to sustain frequent repeated passages of the disease agent. Other diseases (such as, perhaps, malaria) might not have been able to exist at all without a substantial concentrated human reservoir' (ibid:321).

However, with the growth of populations and their increased mobility, disease patterns are likely to change radically. First, large, dense populations with poorly protected water supplies are an ideal breeding ground for infectious diseases. Second, as growing numbers of individuals move from one area to another, not only are they likely to import diseases not previously found in their new place of residence, but also they become succeptible to diseases prevalent there, against which they had not hitherto developed any immunity (Kunstadter, 1971). A further factor of overpopulation which may influence patterns of mortality, is the strain on food resources, which at best can cause protein malnutrition, with a consequent increase in deaths particularly in young children, and at worst, widespread famine and death throughout the population.

Nevertheless, although differing greatly in terms of actual death rates, the mortality curve tends to follow a similar pattern in both developed and less-developed countries, with high rates in the first year of life, declining rapidly in the second and third years until about age 9, thereafter remaining low until middle age, after which rates increase rapidly towards old age. The major difference in patterns of mortality between developed and less-developed countries, is in infant mortality. In high mortality populations, infant deaths tend to form the highest single age category for mortality (De Jong, 1972:51). However, once improved medical facilities are introduced to a community, infant mortality tends to decline at a much more rapid rate than general mortality. Furthermore, the generally recognised biological superiority of women in regard to mortality, as yet unexplained, is further enhanced by improving health conditions, such

that life expectancy at birth of women in countries experiencing declining mortality, can be as much as 8 years more than for men (ibid), while in societies unaffected by modern medicine, mortality rates of women tend to be higher in the reproductive age groups because of the hazards associated with pregnancy and childbirth.

Another critical factor influencing mortality rates in developing countries has been the reduction in the incidence of famine. Many factors are involved in this process, including improved transportation, the expansion of the market economy and, in recent years, the introduction of new high-yield, fast-growing seeds, fertilizers and agricultural machinery which permit greatly enhanced productivity. Furthermore,

> 'Money, credit, markets and wage-labor opportunities have meant the expansion of economic activities far beyond the bounds of primitive community ecosystems. Wage-labour supplements subsistence economic activities, cash cropping may provide money (or credit) to convert into foodstuffs during the non-productive period of the year or to increase productivity. The intensified economic systems which have resulted from these innovations have allowed the perpetuation of semi-isolated peasant communities, which though they are nominally independent entities, depend on outside sources for employment, credit, markets, and a few essential manufactured goods.' (Kunstadter, 1972:328)

On the other hand, in certain circumstances these same factors can lead to increased malnutrition and death from diseases exacerbated by an inadequate diet. For example, when a large proportion of a population is landless, and entirely dependent on an income from wage labour, an excess of supply over demand for wage labourers will mean that many are forced to exist well below the poverty level. Similarly, in areas where farm production is concentrated on a single crop, or on a non-food crop, to supply national or international markets,

changes in the market demand, or failure of the crop in a particular year, can mean that even those owning land are unable to meet their own subsistence needs. Both such circumstances have led to considerable hardship among large sections of the Thai population in recent years (see Chapter 6).

Thus it may be said that the relationship between mortality and social structure is a two-way one. On the one hand, the periodic fluctuations and crises in death rates have necessitated a degree of flexibility in social and economic organisation though at the same time imposing constraints on their scope in small communities, while on the other hand, social and economic changes can themselves lead to new patterns of mortality.

3.2 Changing Patterns of Mortality in Thailand

As in less developed countries in general, and in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, the greatest determinant of the change in the rate of natural growth in Thailand over recent decades, has not been the level of fertility but a decline in mortality rates (Caldwell, 1967). In late nineteenth century Thailand, there may well have been some fall in death rates following the initial penetration of the cash economy into rural areas[1]. Nevertheless, Bourgeois-Pichat (1959)

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[1] However, it is possible that mortality rates in the more remote North were higher than in the developing Central Region at this time. (See Ch.6) McGilvary, after visiting Chiengmai towards the end of the nineteenth century, wrote:

> 'Malarial fevers often run on season after season, creating an anemic condition such that the least exertion would bring on the fever and chills again...I have often been in villages where every child, and nearly every person, young and old, had chills and fever,...The ravages of smallpox had been fearful, amounting at times to the destruction of a whole generation of children. The year before our arrival had witnessed such a scourge. Hardly a household escaped, and many had no children left.' (1912:98-89. Quoted in Potter, 1976:25).

suggests that death rates in Thailand remained fairly constant at about 30/1000 for much of the first half of the twentieth century. A moderate decline in mortality in the mid-1930s was soon reversed when death rates soared during the Japanese Occupation in the 1940s. Food shortages, increased crime rates and general insecurity forced many villagers to abandon their homes and seek refuge elsewhere. This large-scale movement of population in turn accelerated the spread of diseases such as smallpox and malaria which claimed many lives during this period[1].

However, within a couple of years of the end of the Second World War, death rates in Thailand again began to fall, to less than 20/1000 by the mid-1950s, 13/1000 by 1960, and have remained about 11/1000 during the 1970s. In 1937, life expectancy at birth in Thailand was only 35 years (average for both sexes), but by the end of the 1950s, this had risen to 53.6 years for males, and 58.7 years for females (U.N. Demographic Yearbook, 1967), while one optimistic projection for males and females in 1980 is 67 years (Das Gupta, 1965).

To a large extent this impressive decline in mortality can be attributed to the importation of new medical technology, and the expansion of the Government's responsibilities in the field of health. For example, a nationwide anti-malaria campaign was underway by 1949, and between 1952 and 1958 DDT spraying had spread to cover the whole country, reducing cases of malaria by 80% during this period. Annual deaths from malaria fell from 3.3/1000 in 1943, to 0.2/1000 in 1961.

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[1] A possible indication of the extent of the increased incidence of such diseases during this period is the use of the term '<u>rok yipon</u>' (Japanese disease) by villagers in Ban Pong when referring to a particularly virulent form of malaria.

Between 1950 and 1961, the incidence of yaws in the population was reduced from 8% to 0.5%. Smallpox was brought under complete control with a massive vaccination programme, while cholera, although still breaking out periodically, is largely under control due to both curative and prophylactic measures. For example, although the cholera outbreak between 1958 and 1959 involved the greatest number of cases ever recorded in Thailand, the death rate was only 12% (of cases), as compared to 60% in earlier epidemics.

Other factors influencing mortality, such as improved sanitation and clean water supplies, health education and nutrition, are more difficult to quantify in terms of the extent to which they have contributed to declining death rates in Thailand. However, it is reasonable to assume that such factors have had a substantial beneficial effect on standards of health in the country as a whole.

3.3 Health Services in Chiengmai

In the last few decades, Government Health Centres have been introduced at every administrative level in Thailand. Nevertheless, in Chiengmai, as in most other provinces, health services tend to be concentrated in the urban areas. For example, in 1972 there were three Government and four private hospitals in Chiengmai city, providing a total of some 1300 beds for the entire provincial population of 1,000,000. In the rural areas at that time, there were 7 First Class Health Centres at the district level, each with a qualified doctor and an average of ten beds; sixty Second Class Health Centres at the sub-district level, each with a nurse-midwife

and junior health worker, and 40 midwifery centres, each with a midwife, in more remote villages. The urban/rural imbalance in health services is acute, with over 80% of all qualified medical personnel working in Chiengmai city and a few district centres, in a region where less than 20% of the population lives in urban areas.

Although the rural population is making use of the health services to an increasing extent in recent years, problems of inaccessibility of medical centres, and of social distance between villagers and health personnel, as well as the often prohibitory cost of treatment, continues to limit this. It is probably true to say that in the majority of cases of sickness in the rural areas, indigenous medical practitioners are the first from whom help is sought[1]. An individual might consult a range of such curers, the herbalist, the spirit doctor and the 'injection' doctor[2], before contemplating making the journey to a city hospital or district health centre. For example, in Ban Pong, although there has been a Second Class Health Centre in the village for the past twenty years, and a First Class Health Centre in nearby Mae Taeng since 1960, few sick people ever seek help from these sources. Instead they tend to turn to traditional doctors, except in the most severe cases which are generally taken directly into one of the city hospitals.

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[1] Cunningham, in his study of health practices in Saraphi District in the late 1960s, makes the reverse observation (1970:152). I would suggest Saraphi's greater proximity to the hospitals of Chiengmai may well account for this discrepancy.

[2] A mɔ chit or 'injection' doctor is found commonly in Thai villages. Usually former army medical orderlies, these practitioners use their ability to administer injections to satisfy villagers' considerable desire for injected 'medicine' as 'treatment' for almost any complaint (see Cunningham, n.d.).

3.4 Sources of data

A major problem in the study of mortality in small communities in developing countries is the paucity of data. Thailand is no exception here. Although death rates are available for the country as a whole, there is no official breakdown for smaller administrative areas. This gap is, to some extent, filled by the Vital Registration system. However, the degree of under-registration of deaths appears to be even greater than for births. In 1960, it was estimated that overall only 60% of deaths were registered, and although this may have improved to some extent in recent years, it remains a serious problem (Caldwell, 1967). Furthermore, under-registration tends to be biased by sex and by age, with females and young infants being the most likely to be omitted from the records.

Anthropologists who have taken an interest in the demographic patterns prevailing in their field communities, have found various ways of solving the problem. Firth (1957), for example, was able to compare two censuses taken in Tikopia in 1929 and 1952, to determine the number of deaths which had occurred in the interim. Macfarlane (1976) employed the same method in his study of Gurung mortality, using two village censuses taken 11 years apart. I had hoped to use McDaniel's census data for Ban Pong taken in 1967 for this purpose, but unfortunately the original questionnaires had been destroyed and only the cumulative data for the village were available to me (McDaniel, 1967: Appendix 1). Even so, this method involves a number of serious biases which limit its value. Firstly, it is only feasible for use in a comparatively small, non-mobile population or one in which, like

Tikopia, all migrants can be identified by those remaining in the community at the time of the repeat census. Secondly, it is very likely, particularly if the censuses are taken many years apart, that infants born and dying in the interim will be overlooked.

The reconstruction of mortality patterns using genealogies is possible in small communities, but in a village such as Ban Pong, with a population of over 2000, this would have been an excessively complicated and time-consuming task. Macfarlane uses a restricted version of this method, by recording information on the deaths of parents, and the most recently deceased near relative, of each head of household and of his wife. This method has enabled him to draw some tentative conclusions about adult mortality among the Gurungs, but is by no means conclusive (1976:277).

Another method used by Macfarlane is to extract information about deaths from the fertility histories which he collected for selected Gurung women. His data are limited by the fact that the women he selected were the oldest in each household, thus creating a bias in terms of the age distribution of these women, a factor which, as we shall see shortly, is of some significance in the incidence of infant mortality. In the case of my own fertility survey in Ban Pong, this problem does not arise, since I collected data from every woman in the village who had ever been married, apart from a small number of the oldest women who were too senile to remember the sort of information I was seeking. Even so, there remain a number of biases, inherent in the use of this method, which are impossible to avoid (see Chapter 2,

p. 88), but in the absence of any more accurate source of data, this does at least provide some indication of the changing trends in infant and child mortality in the community in recent years.

The final source of data used by Macfarlane and by myself, is the record of all deaths occurring during fieldwork. I was able to extend this method to cover three consecutive years: in my first survey of March 1973, I recorded all deaths reported by the head of each household as having occurred during the preceding 12 months. At the time of my second survey in March 1974, I was able to determine precisely the number of deaths which had occurred in the interim by comparing the successive questionnaires for each household. Finally, a survey conducted by my field assistant in March 1975, enabled me to calculate the deaths which had occurred in the preceding twelve months. Clearly the data for the middle period (November 1972 to August 1974), when I was actually living in Ban Pong and able to personally record each death as it happened, are likely to be the most accurate.

3.5 Mortality in Ban Pong: The Registration Data

Registration data on deaths occurring in Ban Pong were available for the years 1965 to 1973. The estimated crude death rates for each year are given in Table 18. As in the calculation of crude birth rates for Ban Pong presented in the previous chapter (Table 17, p.119), the total village population for some years has been estimated.

Table 18

Estimated Crude Death Rate, Ban Pong, 1965-1973

Year	Total Population	Registered Deaths	CDR/1000
1965	1885*	16	8.5
1966	1938*	25	12.9
1967	1941	22	11.3
1968	2005*	23	11.5
1969	2070	23	11.1
1970	2089*	17	8.1
1971	2083*	19	9.1
1972	2079*	21	10.1
1973	2110	18	8.5

*Estimate

The range of annual crude death rates for Ban Pong compare closely with those found for Mae Taeng District and Inthakhin Sub-district for the same period (Chapter 1, Tables 2 and 3, p.79). Breakdown of deaths by age and sex were, unfortunately, not available for Ban Pong, or for the District and Sub-district, other than for the year 1973. Since only 18 deaths were recorded for Ban Pong in that year, analysis by age and sex has not been attempted, the numbers being too small to be of any significance. However, deaths recorded in 1973 for Inthakhin Sub-district have been analysed in this way, since it might reasonably be assumed that mortality patterns over time would not vary greatly within this comparatively small population[1]. Figures are approximate, since a breakdown of the total sub-district population by age and sex was not available, so I have used the proportions given for the District population as reported in the 1970 Census.

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[1] In fact crude death rates for the thirteen villages in Inthakhin Sub-district in 1973 ranged from 3.6/1000 to 15.6/1000. Although this could reflect actual variations in mortality from one village to another, or differences in their age structure, I think it is to a large extent the result of eratic reporting of deaths, and random fluctuations in communities whose population sizes vary from under 300 to over 2000.

Table 19

Estimated Age/Sex-Specific Death Rates, Inthakhin Sub-district, 1973

N = 84 (rates per 1000 in each age/sex group)

Age Group	Males	Females	Total
0-9	7.6	3.8	5.8
10-19	0	1.5	0.7
20-29	3.1	0	1.6
30-39	2.6	3.0	2.7
40-49	10.0	13.6	11.6
50-59	20.9	17.2	19.2
60-69	12.8	28.7	20.3
70 plus	98.2	72.5	84.0
Average	7.5	7.25	7.4

Several points emerge from an examination of Table 19. First, the age-specific death rates do tend to follow the U-shaped trend mentioned earlier, with rates lowest between ages 10 and 39. Second, although the overall average rates for males and females are more or less the same, there appears to be a bias against reporting deaths of female infants, since it is unlikely that the actual death rate for males under 10 is as much as twice that for females in the same age group. Third, I would suggest that the rates for all children under 10 are lower than might be expected, indicating a considerable degree of under-reporting of infant deaths[1]. I will return to this point shortly. Finally, although the overall crude death rate of 7.4 is more or less the same as the rates for Mae Taeng District and Chiengmai Province for the same year (Chapter 1, Tables 2 and 3, p.79), it would seem to be rather low, given the poor quality of health services in such rural areas of Thailand. This assertion will be discussed further in the following section.

[1] Unlike in the case of registration of births, where registration is encouraged by the obligation to provide a birth certificate for all children entering school, there is little motivation to register deaths. Although officially there are penalties for non-registration of deaths, they are rarely, if ever, imposed and where registration involves relatives of the deceased making a journey to the home of the sub-district kamnan, the inconvenience can often lead to considerably late, or non-reporting of such events.

A final factor of interest which emerged from analysis of the Registration data, was the seasonal distribution of deaths. The highest proportion of deaths (37.3%) occurred during the four months of the rainy season, July to October, and the least (27.1%) in the four dry, cool months from November to February, with 35.5% occurring during the hot dry months between March and June. Although it is likely that there is some degree of error in the recording of the actual months in which deaths occurred, the possible association between climatic conditions and mortality is worthy of note. An increase in death rates during the rainy season was also noted by Macfarlane in his study of the Gurung, a factor which he would attribute primarily to drainage problems[1] (personal communication). However, Macfarlane also reports a considerable decline in mortality rates from water-borne diseases among the Gurung in Thak following the installation of a water-pipe (1976:269-270). At the time of my fieldwork in Ban Pong there was no running water in the village; all households in the community obtained their water from wells, of which there were 277 in 1973. Considerable progress had been made in the village with the introduction of latrines in recent years[2]. In 1973, more than 80% of households in Ban Pong had a latrine either within, or beside their homes, and it was the aim of the local government-trained sanitation officer to install them in all households in the area.

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[1] Another possible factor in the seasonal variation in mortality rates could be the greater inaccessibility of medical services for populations isolated during the monsoons. Although Ban Pong is comparatively well-situated in this respect, it was, for example, completely cut off for more than a week in July 1973 when the bridge at Mae Taeng was swept away by exceptionally violent flood waters.

[2] Cassen (1978:208) mentions the considerable benefits to public health which can be obtained by this single measure. However, I would suggest that in areas such as Ban Pong, where water for domestic use is drawn from quite shallow wells, and where latrines are constructed over cesspits, the risk of pollution of the water supply, particularly during the monsoon season, is high.

3.6 Mortality in Ban Pong: The Survey Data

Deaths occurring in Ban Pong between March 1972 and March 1975 were recorded in three separate annual censuses. A total of 69 deaths were noted, giving an average annual crude death rate for the three years of 10.9/1000. In view of the small numbers involved, age and sex-specific rates have been calculated as a mean for the three years, using the age and sex breakdown of the population as recorded in the 1973 survey (Table 20). The results confirm that the Registration data are deficient in several major areas; first, female deaths for all ages, second, and most significantly, in female infant deaths, and third, in the overall deaths registered, since the crude death rate for the population of Ban Pong calculated from the Registration data is more than 20% lower than that found using the survey data.

Table 20

Mean Annual Age/Sex-specific Death Rates, Ban Pong, March 1972 to March 1975

Age Group	Males	Females	Total
0-9	10.3	18.0	14.0
10-19	1.1	3.0	2.0
20-29	0	0	0
30-39	8.0	5.4	6.8
40-49	9.8	18.2	14.0
50-59	9.3	4.3	6.7
60-69	28.4	37.0	32.6
70 plus	85.5	91.7	88.6
Average	9.5	12.3	10.9

In fact the one year for which I have an exact figure for deaths occurring in Ban Pong, 1973, (during which I spent the entire year in the village) the number registered (18) represented only 75% of actual deaths (24). Furthermore, comparison of actual and registered deaths of individuals indicated considerable discrepancies. In some cases deaths registered in 1973 had occurred a year or more earlier, while in others, deaths noted by me during 1973 were not registered until the following year. In a few cases deaths occurring in 1973 had not been registered by the time I left the field in late 1974. In fact only 14 of the deaths registered in 1973 had actually occurred during that year. There did not appear to be any clear pattern in late registration according to age or sex of the deceased, though non-registration seemed to be more likely in the case of deaths of the very old or the very young. On the tentative assumption that the rate of late or non-registration has not varied significantly in recent years, I would suggest that the crude death rates derived from the Registration data (Table 18) may be underestimated by at least 25%. Corrected crude death rates for the period 1965 to 1973 would thus range from a minimum of 11/1000 (in 1970) to a maximum of 17/1000 (in 1966).

3.7 Infant Mortality in Ban Pong

In the previous chapter I pointed out that the survival rate of infants born to ever-married women in Ban Pong, had increased significantly in recent years (Table 12, p.111). Table 21 gives the survival rates for all liveborn infants by the year in which they were born.

Table 21

Survival Rates of Liveborn Infants by Year of Birth[1]

Year of Birth	Total livebirths Reported	Proportion Surviving to age 10
1938-40	37	54.0%
1941-43	80	52.5
1944-46	75	46.7
1947-49	94	57.4
1950-52	144	66.0
1953-55	184	72.3
1956-58	229	83.4
1959-61	218	76.6
1962-64	196	82.7
1965-67	162	79.6
1968-70	108	84.3
1971-73[2]	101	85.1

Since women aged 60 and over have been omitted from this analysis (in view of the increasing likelihood of their 'forgetting' offspring who had not survived infancy), the figures for the earlier period involve a certain bias. In fact, the 'proportion surviving' in this early period is probably overestimated, because the mortality rates of infants born to the oldest women, excluded from this table, are likely to have been particularly high in view of the increased risks for infants born to women at the end of their reproductive lives (see Table 26 below) and for those of high birth order (see Table 28 below). Even so, the marked decline in survival rates during the mid-1940s clearly reflects the increased mortality rates known to have occurred in Thailand during the Second World War. Between the late 1940s and the mid-1950s, survival rates increased steadily and have remained more or less stable since that time.

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[1] Livebirths reported by all ever-married women aged under 60 living in Ban Pong in 1973. Some of these births would have occurred outside the village. See discussion of fertility histories in Chapter 2, p.88.

[2] Includes births to March 1973, when my survey was conducted.

Of a total of 1662 livebirths recorded, 439, or 26.4%, had died by the time of my survey in 1973. The age at which the deaths had occurred was recorded in the large majority of cases. Overall, slightly more than 40% of deaths had taken place within the first month of life, 67% within the first year, and 92% within the first five years. In terms of all liveborn babies, 17% did not survive to age one, and almost 25% had died before reaching age 5. In order to see how age at death has changed over time, this has been analysed by the year of birth, as a cumulative rate for all livebirths occurring in each time period.

Table 22

Cumulative Death Rates by Age at Death, Liveborn Infants, Ban Pong[1]

Year of Birth	Total Livebirths	Died in 1st month	Died by 6 mths.	Died by 1 year	Died by 5 years	Died by 1973
1938-40	37	16.2%	24.3%	24.3%	40.5%	45.9%
1941-43	80	16.3	20.0	22.5	30.0	47.5
1944-46	75	10.7	24.0	29.3	41.3	53.3
1947-49	94	14.9	22.3	24.5	34.0	42.6
1950-52	144	9.7	17.4	18.8	25.7	34.0
1953-55	184	7.1	13.0	14.1	23.4	27.7
1956-58	229	5.2	10.0	10.5	14.4	16.6
1959-61	218	7.8	12.3	14.2	20.6	23.4
1962-64	196	7.6	10.2	12.8	16.8	16.8
1965-67	162	9.9	12.3	14.2	20.4	20.4
1968-70	108	8.3	9.2	11.1	(13.9)[2]	15.7
1971-73	101	(6.9)[2]	(10.9)[2]	(12.9)[2]	(13.9)[2]	14.9

Since the earliest period for which data are available, 1938-40, to the time of my survey, 1973, infant mortality rates had declined by two thirds overall and by one half in deaths occurring during the first year of life. This

[1] Age at death was not recorded in 24 cases (5.5%); thus the rates given in all but the final column are likely to be slightly underestimated.

[2] The eventual percentage in these columns is likely to be higher since some of the infants born in these years had not reached the specified age by the time of my survey.

compares very favourably with the rates for Thailand as a whole for the same time period, where there has been a one-third decline in mortalityrates, from about 12-13.5% deaths in the first year of life in 1940, to between 8% and 9% in 1970. However, although the rate of decline in mortality is greater in Ban Pong for this period, the actual proportion of children dying before age one in 1938-40 was almost twice as high as for the country as a whole (Thomlinson, 1972:65). Furthermore, the average infant mortality rate in Ban Pong for the whole period (18%) is considerably higher than that found for a similar period, among rural Thai women (11.2%), by Knodel and Prachuabmoh (1974:444). Nevertheless, the present-day infant mortality rate in Ban Pong is only slightly higher than the national average.

The acute concern and helplessness felt by parents in Ban Pong in the past, over the frequent and tragic loss of their babies and young children, is well expressed by Ui Ma, an old lady of 83, who had been one of the most active traditional midwives in Ban Pong for the past fifty years:

> 'When I was younger many babies used to die, so parents gave their children animal names - like mine, it means 'dog', and my brothers and sisters who were called 'tiger', 'pig' and 'turtle'. This made it easier to raise children. In the old days, if parents gave their babies beautiful names like 'goodness', 'full-moon' or 'golden day', they were likely to die, but those with animal names survived. This is because it was a trick against the phǫ koet mae koet (birth parents), who are often jealous of the human parents. If they want the baby back they will send a curse to make it ill so it will die. It is the birth parents who send down the winyan (soul) to be born as a human, to enter the womb of a human woman. If the baby is then given an animal name, it tricks them into believing that it really is an animal, so they dont want it! But what dreadful names they are!'

Inevitably, in a population where contact with Western medical systems is comparatively recent and still extremely limited, a precise diagnosis of cause of death is rare. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to ascertain

the major causes of death of infants and young children, by grouping together the experiences of all respondants, according to the years in which deaths had occurred. Table 23 gives cause of death of all infants and young children who had died before reaching age 10, by the year in which they died.

Table 23

Cause of Death by Year of Death: Infants Under 10 Years

Year of Death	Causes of Death																	
	Total	Cause Unknown	High fever	Neonatal[3]	Sickly	Convulsions	Diahorrea	Vommiting	Muscular[2]	Malnutrition	Diptheria	Polio	Pneumonia	Smallpox	Chicken pox	Tetanus	Accident	Other[1]
1938-40	17	6	3	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1941-43	21	8	4	3	1	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1944-46	28	4	10	4	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	1
1947-49	34	6	15	7	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
1950-52	37	8	20	3	-	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1953-55	38	5	16	5	1	2	2	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-
1956-58	36	5	17	4	-	4	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
1959-61	44	9	12	10	-	2	1	2	-	-	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	1
1962-64	39	10	6	2	-	3	2	3	-	-	3	2	2	1	-	2	-	3
1965-67	43	10	6	5	3	4	4	2	1	-	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	1
1968-70	25	4	3	3	3	3	2	-	2	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971-73	26	5	8	7	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Year Unknown	12	-	3	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
Total	400[4]	80	123	61	10	30	21	8	4	3	16	13	7	5	4	3	3	9

[1] Other includes 2 cases of cancer, and one case each of abdominal distension, asthma, nose bleed, cough, malaria, cep pak (lit. 'to be hurt in the mouth'. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this does not correspond to any specific disease, but may refer to a mouth injury), and khai lu'ad ɸk (hemorrhagic fever).

[2] Described by informants as 'muscular stiffness and weakness'.

[3] Neonatal includes 'premature', 'cried and died', 'born and died' and 'wouldn't suckle'.

[4] Of the total 439 deaths reported by ever-married women aged under 60, 15 had occurred at age 10 or more, and in 24 cases age at death was unknown.

A cause of death was recorded in 80% of cases of infant and child deaths. However, many of these 'causes' were purely symptomatic, such as 'high fever', convulsions', and 'diahorrea'. Together such causes of death account for about 60% of all deaths for which a cause was recorded (and over 80% of those deaths occurring prior to 1950). A further 20% of deaths were neonatal. Overall, less than 20% of deaths for which a cause was recorded were attributed to specific diseases, with diptheria, polio and pneumonia being the most frequently cited. It is interesting to note that the majority of such cases had occurred since the early 1950s. It is not possible to say to what extent this represents a real change in the disease pattern of the community, and, although it could simply be explained by the improved memory for more recent events, I would suggest that it is more likely to be related to the increasing access to Western medical care, which has given names to diseases which probably occurred in the past but which had not previously been identified. For example, although deaths from malaria were common throughout Thailand prior to the introduction of the Malaria Eradication Programme in the late 1940s and, according to a number of villagers, there had been a severe epidemic of the disease in 1940, none of the infant deaths occurring at that time were attributed to the disease. Similarly, informants reported an epidemic of smallpox in Ban Pong in 1942, and of cholera in 1946 and again in 1950, but neither disease is given as the cause of any infant deaths reported for these years (although they were mentioned in a small number of adult deaths. See Figure 6, p.155, below).

However, despite the limitations of the data, in some cases there are reports of a particular disease leading to the death of several infants, in the same year or in successive years, which are suggestive of epidemics. For example, four deaths were attributed to chicken pox in 1944, while deaths from diptheria were particularly high during the late 1950s and early 1960s, and from polio during the mid to late 1960s.

In Table 22, it was shown that the majority of infant and child deaths had occurred during the first month, or year, of life. In Table 24, age at death has been analysed according to cause of death, to see the way in which the disease pattern is related to age.

Table 24

Age at Death by Cause of Death: Infants Under 10 Years

Age at Death	Causes of Death																	
	Total	Cause Unknown	High Fever	Neonatal	Sickly	Convulsions	Diahorrea	Vommiting	Muscular	Malnutrition	Diptheria	Polio	Pneumonia	Smallpox	Chicken pox	Tetanus	Accident	Other
1 month	172	53	30	51	5	8	-	3	-	1	7	6	-	2	1	3	-	2
2-6 mths.	77	16	27	7	-	7	3	3	3	-	5	1	-	1	1	-	1	2
7-11 mths.	29	-	15	2	-	2	3	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	1
1 year	57	9	22	1	4	6	4	-	-	2	-	3	2	1	1	-	1	1
2 years	23	1	8	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	1
3 years	13	-	9	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
4-5 years	12	1	5	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
6-9 years	17	-	7	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	1
Total	400	80	123	61	10	30	21	8	4	3	16	13	7	5	4	3	3	9

Although it is impossible to form any positive conclusions on the basis of such small numbers, a few points of interest emerge from the table. First, all deaths from tetanus occurred in infants during the first month of life, and were therefore almost certainly a result of infection of the umbilicus due to insanitory conditions at birth. As one might expect, the majority of cases of death from diptheria were in babies under six months, and from polio in infants under one year. Almost half of the known causes of death of infants in the first month of life fall into the category 'neonatal'[1]. A considerable proportion of deaths among young children, from ages one to nine, were attributed to diahorrea which, in some cases, could have been associated with gastro-intestinal infection following weaning.

Apart from the generally random incidence of disease, there are a number of secondary factors which have been shown to influence patterns of infant mortality. These factors, which might usefully be termed 'intermediate variables', (as in fertility analysis), include the sex and birth order of the baby, and maternal age. Two other variables which I feel are relevant here are birth attendant and place of birth. The influence of each of these variables on patterns of infant mortality in Ban Pong will be investigated below.

Overall, survival rates of female infants in Ban Pong are slightly higher than for males (Table 25)[2]. However, this varies considerably

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[1] The few cases of slightly older infants categorised as 'neonatal' deaths have been included since the cause of death recorded for them was 'premature' or 'wouldn't feed'. Although in the strict sense neonatal deaths include only those occurring in the first month of life, I have included them here as they were the results of problems arising at birth.

[2] This is normally the case in populations where no preferential treatment is given to infants of a particular sex. Macfarlane presents some interesting material on differential infant mortality rates by sex for the Gurungs and the Tailors and Blacksmiths in Thak (1976:272-273).

from one time period to another, with male survival rates exceeding those for females on some occasions. There does not appear to be a strong correlation between this variation and the sex ratio at birth, although there is a slight tendency for male survival rates to be lower when the sex ratio is high (i.e. when the proportion of males born exceeds that of females).

Table 25

Survival Rates by Sex: Liveborn Infants, Ban Pong, 1938-1973

Year of Birth	Survival Rates		Sex Ratio at Birth
	Males	Females	Males:100 Females
1938-40	50.0%	71.0%	91
1941-43	43.4	52.0	120
1944-46	46.0	43.6	95
1947-49	54.3	57.0	94
1950-52	61.8	69.7	89
1953-55	73.6	72.6	96
1956-58	80.3	86.8	115
1959-61	71.3	81.1	108
1962-64	85.3	80.4	93
1965-67	79.0	81.7	99
1968-70	82.6	85.5	74
1971-73	83.9	87.5	155
Total	72.4	75.9	101

The influence of maternal age on infant mortality can be analysed in two ways, firstly as maternal age-specific rates (i.e. the proportion of livebirths surviving infancy according to the age at which their mothers gave birth to them), and secondly, the proportion of infants dying at particular ages, according to the current age of their mothers.

The results presented in Table 26 are somewhat surprising since they do not tend to follow the generally recognised trend of higher mortality rates among infants born to women in the early and in the late years of

their reproductive lives. On the contrary, the death rates appear to be correlated much more strongly with time than with maternal age. For example, women currently aged 55-59, the majority of whom would have commenced their childbearing in the early 1930s and concluded it by the late 1950s, experienced high rates of infant mortality throughout this time, but had the lowest rates late in their reproductive lives, presumably because of the improvements in health services after 1950. The highest mortality rates were among infants born at the beginning of the reproductive lives of women now aged 45-49, which would have coincided with the deteriorating conditions in the early 1940s. Ten years later, the death rates among infants being born to women in this age group had fallen dramatically[1].

Table 26

Infant Mortality by Maternal Age[2]

Current Age of Mother	Age of Mother at Birth of Child						
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
15-19	(14.3%)	-	-	-	-	-	-
20-24	21.0	(20.0)	-	-	-	-	-
25-29	33.3	18.5	(0)	-	-	-	-
30-34	33.3	25.3	23.5	(29.4)	-	-	-
35-39	0	16.7	20.6	11.1	(0)	-	-
40-44	10.0	23.1	9.9	20.6	22.2	(12.5)	
45-49	60.0	60.0	32.6	19.5	26.0	33.3	(0)
50-54	36.4	48.4	33.3	33.3	18.8	20.6	33.3
55-59	41.0	36.6	34.5	43.6	32.5	30.8	0
Mean	31.1	30.7	22.8	25.4	22.9	36.8	*[3]

[1] It is interesting to note that although the death rates of infants born to women now aged 40-44 are substantially lower than those of women now aged 45-49, the mean number of surviving children for women in both age groups are almost the same (Chapter 2, p.11). This is the result of a dramatic fall in fertility rates among the younger women.

[2] Percentage of liveborn infants dying before age 10.

[3] Number of livebirths is too small to be included.

Although, as we have noted, death rates tend to be more strongly related to time than to maternal age, when the mean rates for all age groups are considered, there is a fairly clear trend towards higher death rates among infants born in the early and the late years of the reproductive span.

The age at death of liveborn infants was analysed according to the current age of their mothers (Table 27). There is a clear falling trend in the proportion of infants dying in the first two years of life, with rates for the offspring of older women being considerably higher than for those of younger women. However, there does not appear to be a similar trend in death rates of infants aged two years or more by current maternal age. One must therefore conclude that the medical and other improvements which have contributed to the rapid decline in infant deaths have had their greatest impact among children during their first two years of life.

Table 27

Infant Mortality by Current Maternal Age

Current Age of Mother	Age at Death of Infant (% of Livebirths)			
	0-11 mths.	12-23 mths.	2-5 yrs.	0-5 yrs.
20-29	13.5%	2.1%	4.2%	19.9%
30-39	15.9	1.8	3.2	20.8
40-49	17.3	3.5	2.5	23.3
50-59	21.3	5.8	3.5	30.6
Mean	17.9	3.7	3.0	24.7

Another important factor influencing survival rates is pregnancy order. It is generally recognised that the risk of infant mortality increases steadily for infants of fourth, and higher, birth order.

Table 28

Pregnancy Outcome by Pregnancy Order[1]

Pregnancy Order	Livebirths	Deaths	Fetal Wastage
1 (376)[2]	93.0%	26.6%	7.0%
2 (308)	93.5	26.4	6.5
3 (258)	93.4	28.2	6.6
4 (214)	92.5	28.3	7.5
5 (166)	94.0	23.1	6.0
6 (138)	89.9	25.0	10.1
7 (119)	83.2	18.2	16.8
8 (79)	86.1	22.1	13.9
9 (53)	84.9	35.6	15.1
10 plus (116)	80.2	34.4	19.8
Total (1827)	91.0	26.5	9.0

The data for Ban Pong do not follow the expected trend, and the proportion of liveborn infants dying is, in fact, slightly lower for pregnancy orders 5 to 8 than for orders 1 to 4.[3] It is only after pregnancy order 8 that survival rates show a marked decline. However, in the category of fetal wastage, there are consistently high rates in the proportion of stillbirths, miscarriages and abortions after pregnancy order 5.

The birth assistant and place of birth were recorded for each pregnancy. The majority of births recorded in the survey (85%) had been assisted by a mǫ tamyae (traditional midwife). Prior to 1950, none of the

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[1] Livebirths and fetal wastage are presented as a proportion of all pregnancies for each pregnancy order, while deaths are as a proportion of all livebirths.

[2] Numbers in brackets represent the number of pregnancies recorded for each pregnancy order.

[3] It should be noted here that these are aggregate pregnancy order data, and may, to some extent, be distorted by time since they include the experiences of women throughout the period from the late 1930s to the early 1970s.

deliveries had been attended by a trained midwife or doctor. In 1954, a Second Class Health Centre was opened in Ban Pong, staffed by a Government-trained midwife. The first midwife to be posted there was well-liked by the villagers and between 1954 and 1964 about 20% of all deliveries were assisted by her. During this time the rate of neonatal deaths was particularly low (Table 22). However, in 1964 a new midwife came to the clinic and she proved to be less popular than her predecessor. Since her arrival in the village only about 5% of births have been attended by her, most women prefering to seek the help of a mǫ tamyae. The neonatal death rate has risen once again. Overall, the survival rate of liveborn infants delivered by a mǫ tamyae was 71%, as compared to 83% for those delivered by one of the clinic midwives, and 90% for those attended by a qualified doctor.

Prior to the late 1960s, very few births took place outside the village. The overwhelming majority of women preferred to give birth in their own homes, whether attended by a mǫ tamyae or the clinic midwife. The only women who had had their babies in hospital were those who were forced to do so because of serious problems during labour, or a few who chose to do so, such as the teacher and the head-man's wife. However, since then an increasing number of village women have been giving birth in one of the city hospitals, and between 1971 and 1973 about 15% of babies were born in hospital. On my return to Ban Pong late in 1978, I was told that by then almost all women were choosing to have their babies in hospital. Two factors had led to this change. Firstly, both Ui Ma and Ui Can, who had been the most active mǫ tamyae at the time of my field-work, had since died. Secondly, the word had spread that both mothers and newborn babies had a much better chance of survival if the delivery took place in hospital. With the advent of family planning (Chapter 5),

which has cut down on high order pregnancies and births to older women, and the increased preference for hospital deliveries, it is likely that infant mortality rates in Ban Pong will continue to decline.

3.8 Adult Mortality in Ban Pong

Earlier in this chapter I discussed the way in which current age-specific death rates in Ban Pong follow the normal trend with high rates among infants and young children, very low rates during the teens and twenties, after which rates for both sexes gradually increase towards old age. So far I have examined in detail the changing causes of death of infants and young children. Data on deaths of older children and adults in Ban Pong are extremely scanty, and it is possible to present no more than a very tentative picture of mortality patterns, pieced together using data from various sources. The fertility histories provide details of deaths of the offspring of women still living in Ban Pong but these are, of course, limited by the fact that even the earliest pregnancies reported by the oldest women interviewed are unlikely to have occurred more than 50 or 60 years ago. However, these are the only data available on deaths occurring in the past. Current patterns of adult mortality can be presented in somewhat greater detail using both survey and Registration data. Unfortunately, these data also have limitations. Deaths recorded in the Ban Pong surveys for 1972 to 1975 do not include complete information on the causes of death, and detailed records of registered deaths are available for only one year, 1973. Furthermore, since only 18 deaths were registered for Ban Pong in that year, it has been necessary to present the data for the whole of the Inthakhin Sub-district for that year, in order to provide a broader picture, on the assumption that mortality patterns in Ban Pong are similar to those found in its neighbouring villages (see pp.137 -138).

The fertility histories of all ever-married women in Ban Pong (including here those of women aged 60 and over) yield information on a total of only 46 deaths of offspring dying aged 10 and over. Although this is too small a number from which to draw any firm conclusions on changing mortality patterns, it is likely that they represent a reasonably complete record of deaths of offspring of these women, since memory of adult deaths is probably more reliable than of infant deaths. In fact, the details of these 46 deaths do provide an interesting picture of the differential causes of death according to age and sex (Figure 6)[1].

Figure 6

Adult Mortality: Age, Sex and Cause of Death of Offspring Dying Aged 10 and Over, Ever-married Women, Ban Pong

Age at Death	Males	Females	
10-19	fever (6)	fever (4)	flu (1)
	malaria (2)	cholera (2)	boil (1)
	died in sleep (1)	smallpox (1)	accident (2)
20-29	shot (1)	fever (1)	
	liver disease (1)	sickly (1)	
	heart disease (1)	spirit (1)	
		accident (1)	
		lom phit du'an (3)	
30-39	fever (1)	lom phit du'an (2)	
	pneumonia (1)	abortion (1)	
	heart disease (1)	post-partum infection (1)	
40-54	fever (2)	childbirth (1)	
	typhoid (1)	lom phit du'an (1)	
	spirit (1)	poison (1)	
		typhoid (1)	
		liver disease (1)	

[1]Since the number of deaths is so small and cover a period of over 30 years, the years in which the deaths occurred have been excluded here, but will be referred to later in this chapter in relation to changing patterns of infectious diseases over time (see p.158).

The most important point which emerges from Figure 6 is that more than half of the deaths among women aged 20 and over were from obstetrical causes. One woman had died in childbirth, another from a post-partum infection, and one following an induced abortion. A further six of these women had died from lom phit du'an ('wrong wind of the month')[1] during the post-partum period. Accidental causes accounted for five deaths, including one man who was shot and a woman who was poisoned. Deaths from infectious diseases such as malaria, cholera and smallpox, were mostly among adolescents. Typhoid and pneumonia were the only named diseases among those dying over age 20.

Deaths registered in Inthakhin Sub-district in 1973 included the cause of death in all but two cases. In Figure 7, these deaths are broken down according to age, sex and cause of death.

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[1] This condition, said to result from a failure to observe one of the many post-partal taboos, particularly those involving the avoidance of smells and certain foods, is identified by a number of symptoms including dizziness, severe headaches, partial paralysis and general weakness which in more severe cases can lead to insanity and even death. For a discussion of lom phit du'an see my article (Mougne, 1978), also Muecke (1979) and Irvine (n.d.).

Figure 7

Adult Mortality: Age, Sex and Cause of Death of Those Dying Aged 10 and Over, Inthakhin Sub-district, 1973

Age at Death	Males	Females
10-19	shot (1)	fever (3)
20-29	fever (1)	-
	drowned (1)	
30-39	opium adiction (1)	lom phit du'an (1)
	heart disease (1)	pneumonia (1)
40-49	car accident (2)	fever (4)
	pneumonia (1)	asthma (1)
	diabetes (1)	lung disease (1)
	unknown (2)	kidney failure (1)
50-59	fever (5)	fever (1)
	pneumonia (2)	TB (1)
	car accident (1)	lom[1] (1)
	insecticide poisoning (1)	old age (2)
	cancer (2)	
60-69	fever (1)	fever (2)
	pneumonia (3)	pneumonia (2)
	convulsions (1)	cancer (2)
	shot (1)	old age (1)
	stomach infection (1)	
70 and over	fever (1)	fever (2)
	old age (10)	old age (11)
	cancer (1)	pneumonia (1)
	diahorrea (1)	weak (1)
	lom[1] (1)	

[1] For a discussion of lom, or 'wind illness', see Muecke (1979) and Irvine (n.d.).

A comparison of the causes of deaths which have occurred over the past thirty-five years (Figure 6), with those occurring in 1973 (Figure 7), allow several interesting, if tentative, conclusions to be drawn. Firstly, it is particularly worthy of note that obstetrical causes of adult female deaths appear to have declined considerably, with only one of the 37 deaths of women aged 20 and over, in 1973, being from such a cause[1]. Accidental deaths, particularly among young men, were more numerous in 1973, most being the result of car crashes. Thirdly, pneumonia and other pulmonary conditions have emerged as being a major cause of death, accounting for 12 of the deaths registered in 1973[2]. Although incomplete, the survey data for deaths in Ban Pong between 1972 and 1975, show a similar pattern.

It is perhaps surprising that very few deaths were attributed to supernatural causes. Only three such deaths were reported, all being the offspring of women now aged 60 and over. One of these was a boy aged three months who died in the mid-1940s from a form of spirit possession, phi ka' khao (possession by the 'greedy' spirit)[3]. The two others were both adults, a man of 40 who died in 1969, and a woman of 24 who died in 1951, both of them phi lǫk ('scared to death by a spirit'). In fact, this impression of minimal belief in the spirit

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[1] It is interesting however to note that two of the deaths of adult women in Ban Pong (in 1972 and 1974) were reported in the surveys as being caused by 'abdominal cancer' and 'haemorrhage'. I was later told by several reliable informants that both deaths had quickly followed failed, induced abortions.

[2] Three of the deaths recorded in the Ban Pong surveys were attributed to TB, and informants reported that such deaths have become increasingly frequent in recent years.

[3] For a discussion of illness caused by possession of such spirits see Irvine (n.d.).

causation of disease is erroneous, since during my fieldwork numerous cases of illness were openly attributed by villagers to spirit revenge or possession. It may be that during the first few months of my stay in Ban Pong, when the fertility surveys were conducted, villagers were reluctant to admit to their beliefs about spirits as being the instruments of disease and death. Possibly some of the deaths for which no cause was reported were thought by villagers to have been caused by spirits.

Although overall only one maternal death was reported (a woman of 40 who died in 1964), such deaths appear to have been fairly frequent in Ban Pong in the past[1]. Mǫ Kaeo, the mǫ phi (spirit doctor) in Ban Pong, whose responsibility it is to remove the fetus from a woman who has died in pregnancy or labour (see Appendix 3), claimed to have performed at least 10 such procedures during the past thirty years. One woman had died in childbirth only two years before I went to Ban Pong. Ui Nang, a former mǫ tamyae (traditional midwife), described the way in which modernisation has influenced women's attitudes to the dangers of reproduction:

> 'In the old days women were afraid - there were no hospitals, no modern medicine. Nowadays people in Ban Pong call themselves 'new people', they don't follow all the old customs. Before, people were afraid of lom phit du'an, so they used to yu fai[2], but nowadays the modern folk aren't afraid because there are hospitals, and they can rely on those. They don't like the old customs. If we tell them not to eat certain foods they don't believe us, they insist on eating forbidden foods. In the old days we respected and listened to our parent's advice. We were so afraid of dying from lom phit du'an. It was really dreadful for a woman to die in childbirth or during the post-partum month. It created very dangerous spirits.'

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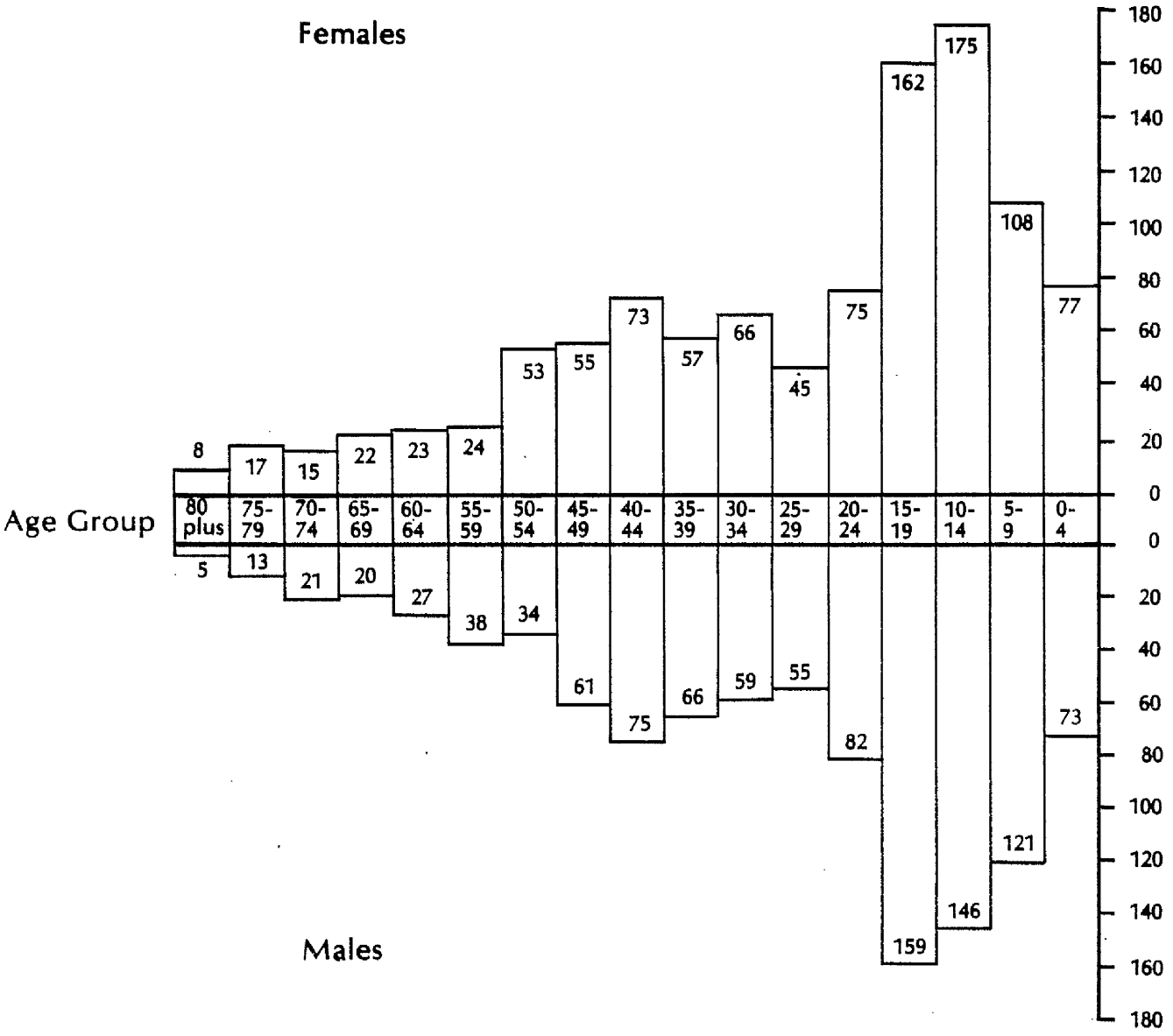
[1] Between 1965 and 1971, maternal deaths in Thailand fell from an average of 3.1 deaths/1000 livebirths to 2.1/1000. Rates are higher for mothers under 20 and over 35. (Public Health Statistics, 1971, Ministry of Public Health, Thailand).

[2] 'to lie by the fire'. See Chapter 5, p. 212, footnote 2)

3.9 Mortality and Age Structure in Ban Pong

The age structure of a population is the product of three factors - fertility, mortality and migration. The impact of changing fertility patterns in Ban Pong has been discussed in Chapter 2. Changing patterns of mortality have also had a significant effect on the structure of the population of the village. For example, as we have seen, up to 40% of babies born in the early 1940s had died before reaching age five. Although data are not available on infant mortality before this period, examination of the population pyramid for Ban Pong, (Figure 8), suggests that mortality during the 1940s was much higher than in previous decades, as can be seen by the narrowing of the pyramid for those between the ages of 25 and 39 (born between 1934 and 1948). The rapid decline in death rates after 1950 is evidenced by the sudden and substantial broadening of the pyramid for those aged under 20 (born after 1953). The narrowing at the base of the pyramid is a result, not of a further change in mortality, but of a rapidly accelerating decline in fertility from the early 1960s onwards (see Chapter 2, p.116). The fairly gradual slope at the upper end of the pyramid, above age 60, suggests considerable longevity in the present-day population. Fluctuations in the sex ratio for different age groups are too eratic to form any conclusions on differential mortality between the sexes. The impact of migration on the age structure of the population will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Figure 8 : Population Pyramid, Ban Pong, 1973



SUMMARY

Little is known about the patterns of mortality in Ban Pong prior to the Second World War. However, it is reasonable to assume that in the first decades after settlement of the village, death rates were fairly high as a result of factors such as periodic food shortages and infectious diseases introduced by the steady influx of migrants from a variety of sources (see Chapter 4). There is evidence that this pattern was intensified during the 1940s as migration rates increased as a result of wartime dislocation further south, and food shortages which are likely to have been particularly severe at that time. The data suggest that infants and young children were especially affected during this period with the spread of diseases such as chicken pox, cholera and diptheria. Malaria is also said to have caused a considerable number of adult deaths at that time.

With the spread of health services and disease control programmes into the rural areas after the end of the war, death rates, particularly those of children, fell rapidly. However, some diseases, such as diptheria, continue to claim a number of young lives each year, and others, notably polio, appear to be increasing. Although data on deaths of adults in Ban Pong are severely limited, there is evidence to suggest that the improved accessibility of medical care has had a beneficial effect on the incidence of deaths associated with pregnancy and childbirth. However, one aspect of modernisation has also taken its toll, with a number of deaths in recent years resulting from car accidents. The pattern of fatal diseases among adults also appears to have changed, with deaths from malaria, cholera and typhoid being replaced by deaths from pneumonia and tuberculosis.

CHAPTER 4

CHANGING PATTERNS OF MIGRATION IN BAN PONG

PLATE 4: Migrants. Phi Long Wongtha' (left) came from Lamphun in 1942, Mae Ui Kham Sithichomphu (second right) came from Doi Saket in 1915, and Mae Ui Khiao Munmak (right) came from Lampang in 1912 (March 1981)

4. Introduction

In the two preceding chapters, I examined the way in which changing patterns of fertility and mortality over the past thirty to forty years have influenced the size and structure of the population of Ban Pong. In this chapter I will look at the third major demographic variable, migration, to see how this too has changed in recent decades. In the first section I investigate both long-term and more recent trends in migration in Chiengmai Province as a whole, as a background to the more detailed analysis of migratory patterns in Ban Pong. The discussion at this stage is primarily a demographic one, to determine the impact of migration on the population structure in Ban Pong. However, certain preliminary conclusions will be drawn from the data, about the economic and social implications of changing patterns of migration, which will be discussed in greater detail later in the thesis.

4.1 Patterns of Migration in Chiengmai Province

In view of the history of recurrent and substantial population movement throughout the Northern Region, it is perhaps surprising that in 1960 only 11.7% of the population in the Region was reported as having been born outside the province of current residence (Population Census, 1960)[1]. By 1970, this figure had increased only slightly, to 13.1% (Population and Housing Census, 1970). The apparent stability of the present-day population is even more pronounced in Chiengmai Province, where only 5.2% of the 1960 population had been born outside the Province, again with a minimal increase to 6.4% in 1970. Although the proportion of women born outside the Province was slightly lower than for males in Chiengmai, the differences were less than one percent overall in both censuses. Nor were there striking variations according to age. As one might expect, the smallest proportion of lifetime migrants[2], both male and female, was in the youngest age group, under 20 years, of whom only 4% had been born outside Chiengmai, in 1970. The age group including the highest proportion of lifetime migrants was 20-29, in which 12% of the population in 1970 had been born in other provinces.

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[1] This is slightly higher than the national average of 11% in 1960. Goldstein, in an analysis of migration and fertility in Thailand, points out some of the problems involved in comparisons of proportions of lifetime migrants, such as variations in the distances over which migration can occur, and, perhaps most significantly, the age structure of different populations. A high proportion of young children for example will artificially inflate the overall proportion of the total population reported as living in their place of birth, '...simply because children have not yet had as much opportunity to move.' (1971:8).

[2] This term is generally used in the literature on migration in Thailand to refer to the population of migrants derived from census data on place of birth, i.e. all individuals resident in a particular province at the time of a census, who had been born elsewhere. The term is used in contradistinction to '5-year migrants' which includes only those individuals who have moved into a particular province during the 5 years prior to the census. While the latter measure is of great value in determining recent trends in migration, the analysis of 'lifetime migrants' gives a useful indication of long-term patterns.

The overwhelming majority of lifetime migrants to Chiengmai had come from other Northern Provinces, notably Lamphun (1.9% of the total population of Chiengmai in 1960 and 1970), Chiengrai (0.6%), Lampang (0.4%), Phrae and Mae Hong Son (both 0.2%). The only Province outside the North which had contributed a substantial proportion of the 1960 and 1970 populations of Chiengmai, was Phranakhon (0.5%). These proportions were the same in both censuses. The tendency for lifetime migrants to move intra-regionally is common throughout Thailand, and in 1970 72.7% of all lifetime migrants in the Kingdom had moved within their region of birth (Chamratrithirong, 1976:157). Ng (1969) has described this phenomenon in terms of 'individual migration regions' separated by migration 'watersheds'. In his discussion of intra-regional migration patterns in the North during the five years prior to the 1960 Census, Ng writes:

> 'Chawad (sic) Chiengrai in the Northern Migration Region has the fifth largest population in the country, yet the density of settlement is much lower than any of the seven chawads in the region. As a result of the substantial inflows from the surrounding area, it gained 1.4 percent of her population by net local movement during 1955-60. Chawad Chiengmai has also experienced a mild increase, for her loss to Chiengrai has been more than compensated for by the significant gains from chawads Lampang and Lamphun. The common characteristics of these two chawads is their more diversified and market-orientated agricultural economy.' (ibid.723)

Although the proportion of lifetime migrants to Chiengmai remains low in terms of the total population of the Province, there is evidence of an increase in migration between the 1950s and 1960s. In each Census the number of people who had moved into the Province during the previous five years was recorded[1]. In 1960, such recent migrants made up 1.5% of the total Provincial population, while in 1970 the proportion had increased to 3.5%. Furthermore, the actual number of

[1] The data exclude children under age of 5 at the time of the Census.

migrants involved had almost tripled, from 12,153 moving to Chiengmai between 1955 and 1960, to 35,909 moving between 1965 and 1970, while the population of the Province as a whole had increased by one only third during the decade[1]. Data on the Province of previous residence of those moving into Chiengmai during the 5 years prior to the two Censuses indicate a continuation of established trends of migration, with the same Provinces menticned above for lifetime migrants being the major sources of the recent migrants. Lamphun Province had contributed the largest proportion of recent migrants, although this proportion had decreased between the two periods involved (33.6% of all 5-year migrants in 1960 were from Lamphun and only 27.5% in 1970[2]). Similar proportional reductions were found for migrants from Lampang (9.7% of 5-year migrants in 1960, and 8.3% in 1970), and Mae Hong Son (3.5% and 2.8%). The proportion of migrants coming from Phrae (3.03% and 3.04%) and Phranakhon (12.6% and 12.2%) had changed only slightly. The only major contributor of recent migrants to Chiengmai which showed a proportional increase over this period was Chiengrai Province (9.3% in 1960 and 13.9% in 1970). Other Provinces which had contributed to 1% or 2% of recent migrants in both periods were Phitsanulok, Nakhonsawan, Uttaradit, Tak, Pichit and Sukhothai, all in the North-Central Region, and Thonburi and Lopburi in the Central Region (see Map 8). However, although the proportion of migrants coming from some Provinces, particularly Lamphun, had declined between 1955-60 and 1965-70, the actual numbers involved had increased from all sources. This apparent discrepancy can be accounted for by the fact that by 1970 the number of provinces contributing substantial numbers of migrants had grown considerably.

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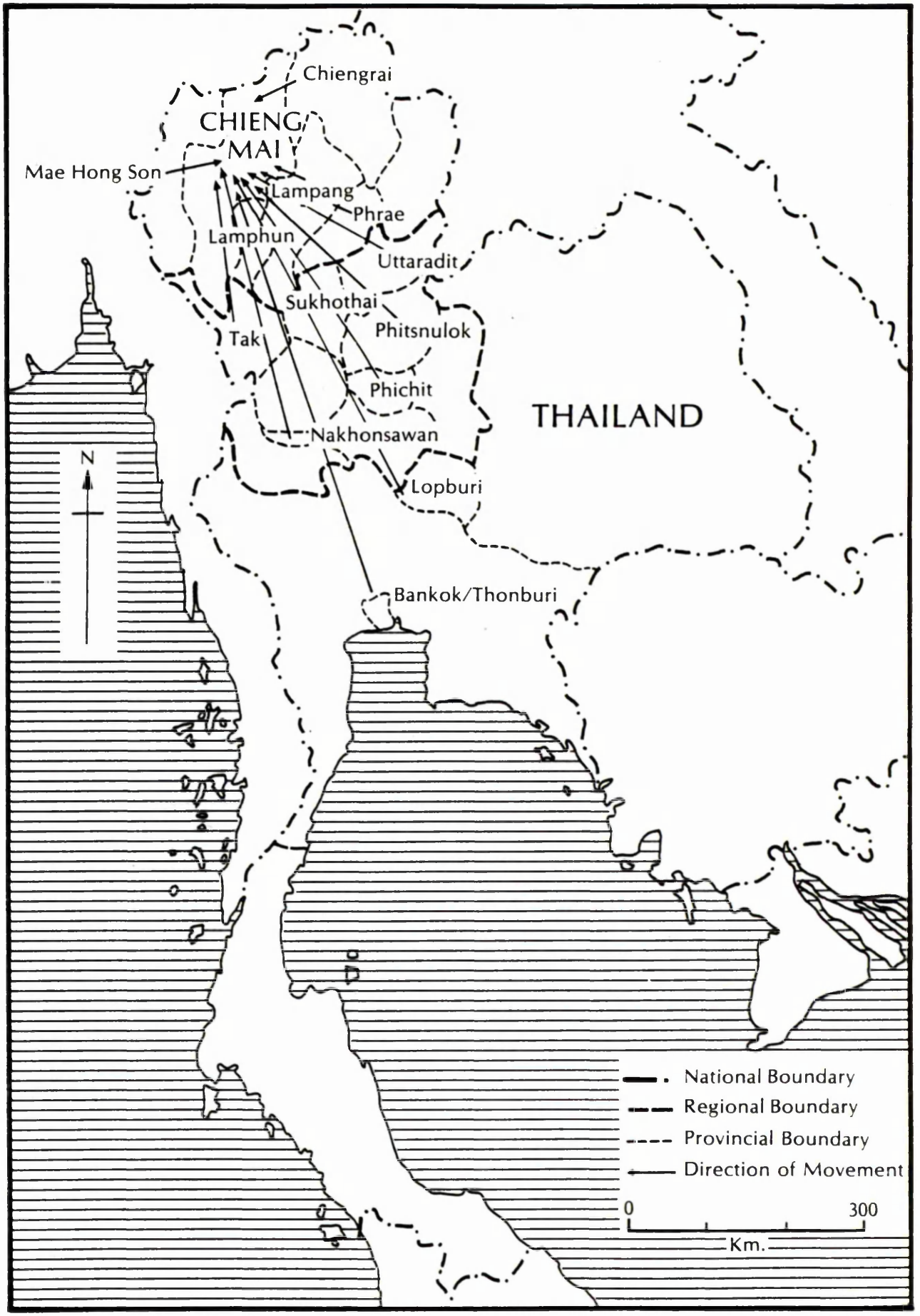
[1] Sternstein (1979a:22) has calculated an increase of 14 migrants per 1000 residents in Chiengmai Province between the two periods.

[2] In the 1970 Census, 31% of 5-year migrants did not report their Province of previous residence. The percentages presented here have been corrected to include only those migrants for whom this information was available.

MAP 8. PROVINCES CONTRIBUTING MAJOR PROPORTION OF LIFETIME MIGRANTS TO CHIENGMAI PROVINCE, 1960 AND 1970.



The pattern of increased inter-provincial migration observed in the Northern Region during the period between the two censuses was reflected throughout the country as a whole. Sternstein, in an examination of the relationship between migration patterns and development in Thailand, has written:

> 'In 1970, major inter-provincial migration streams reinforced and elaborated the pattern of 1960. The intensification of earlier migration flows might have been anticipated, given the great growth of the population and the level of national development in the intercensal period. What is surprising is the magnitude of the increase and the number and intensity of these streams. The migrant catchment of Bangkok expanded enormously, and the migration counterstreams from the metropolis intensified and proliferated. Migration flows to relatively remote and sparsely populated peripheral provinces up-country were greatly augmented, and these streams proliferated as migrants sought out arable lands in formerly unwanted areas.' (1976:404-405. My emphasis)

As noted earlier, the overall proportion of females born outside Chiengmai was slightly lower than that of males. However, there is evidence of a relative increase in female movement in recent years. In 1960, the sex ratio of migrants who had moved into the Province during the previous five years was a high 143, but this had fallen to 120 by 1970. Again this trend towards an increased proportion of female migrants has been reported throughout the country (Sternstein, 1979a).

An examination of the ages of recent migrants over the two periods indicates that considerable changes have occurred among those aged under 30, while the proportions of migrants aged 30 and over have remained virtually unchanged (Table 29). For both male and female recent migrants, the proportion under age 20 had increased substantially between 1960 and 1970. To a large extent this increase can be accounted for by the greatly augmented size of this cohort in relation to the

total population of the Province (see Figure 4, p. 71). Unfortunately, because of the way in which the data are presented in the 1970 Census, it is not possible to determine whether this represents an increase in the number of younger children, under 15, who are likely to have migrated as part of a family group, or of older adolescents, between 15 and 19, who may have made the move alone, probably in search of work.

Table 29

5-Year Migrants to Chiengmai Province, by Age and Sex, 1955-60 and 1965-70 (percent by sex)

Age at Census[1]	Males		Females		Total	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970
5-19	28.5%	38.5%	37.6%	44.8%	32.2%	41.3%
20-29	37.3	29.8	31.0	26.3	34.7	28.2
30-39	18.3	16.2	15.5	13.4	17.2	15.0
40 plus	15.9	15.5	15.9	15.5	15.9	15.5

Another deficiency in the two Censuses, is the absence of comprehensive data on either lifetime or recent migration out of Chiengmai Province[2]. However, there is evidence to suggest that for the Northern Region as a whole, the volume of movement into the Region is on a much larger scale than movement out (Thomlinson, 1972:50; Chamratrithirong, 1976:148-157)[3].

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[1] Differences in the breakdown of age groups in the two Censuses has made it possible to compare the data only in terms of these broad age categories.

[2] In order to compute this figure it would be necessary to examine Censuses for all other Provinces in the Kingdom to extract the number of migrants from Chiengmai. Since individual figures are given only for Provinces from which a major proportion of migrants have come, it would be impossible to arrive at an accurate figure.

[3] Chamratrithirong, using data from the 1970 Census, states that there were 888,000 lifetime migrants to the Northern Region, and 666,000 from the Region, 471,000 of whom had moved within the North. Thus the number moving in from other regions was 417,000, while only 195,000 had left the North to settle elsewhere (ibid.). The migration ratio (movements in per 100 movements out) for the Northern Region in 1970 was thus a very high 214.

In the 1970 Census, data on recent movement within Provinces (i.e. between districts) were presented for the first time. Examination of these data for Chiengmai Province indicates that such movement is on a much larger scale than recent movement into the Province as a whole.

As mentioned above, 3.5% of the 1970 population of Chiengmai Province had moved into the Province within the previous five years. However, a further 4.8% of the population had moved from one district to another within Chiengmai during this period. Thus a total of 8.3% of the population had either moved into the Province or into a new district between 1965 and 1970. When these combined data are further analysed by age, they confirm that the age group which has been most mobile in recent years is 20-29, with 19.8% of all males, and 15.5% of females in this age group having moved into the Province, or into another district during the five years prior to 1970. Unfortunately, movement within districts (i.e. between sub-districts) is not recorded in the Census and it has only been incorporated into the Registration system since 1977, so it is not yet possible to estimate the scale of such movements in the Province as a whole.

Nevertheless, it has become clear that despite the generalised impression of a predominantly stable population in Chiengmai Province given by the comparatively low proportion of lifetime migrants, examination of the available data on population movement over recent years, in particular that occurring within the Province, permits considerable modification of this picture. I now turn to an examination of population movement in Ban Pong to determine the scale and pattern of movement at the village level.

4.2 Lifetime Migration[1] to Ban Pong

In the survey conducted in Ban Pong in March 1973, the place of birth of all people resident in the village was recorded. For those born outside Ban Pong, details were noted of the time at which they had come to the village, and their reasons for moving. It was also ascertained as far as possible whether they had come as a family or as individuals, and their approximate age at the time of the move. Although, in the latter case, many of the responses were vague, for example, 'I came as a child', or 'I came before I was married', it was usually possible to make a reasonable estimate, at least within ten year age categories.

The problems and limitations of retrospective survey data, which include only the experiences of a survivor population, were discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to the fertility histories of Ban Pong women (see p. 88). A similar bias is inevitable in the migration data presented below. Nevertheless, as with the analysis of fertility, in the absence of reliable long-term registration data on population movement, the survey data provide the most comprehensive information available on this important demographic variable.

In all, 380 of the 2110 people living in Ban Pong in 1973 had been born elsewhere (18.0%)[2]. Almost a quarter of the migrants had come to the village within the ten years prior to the survey (i.e. since 1963).

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[1] I am using the terminology adopted for analysis of census data to refer to all residents of Ban Pong who had been born outside the Village.

[2] The National mean rate for lifetime migration in 1970 was 129/1000, or 12.9%. The range for individual provinces (excluding Bangkok/Thonburi) was from 2.8% to 44%, and the median 10.2%. It would seem therefore that the figure for Ban Pong is comparatively high. However, the Provincial figures only include lifetime migrants from other Provinces, and thus the corrected figure for Ban Pong is much lower, 6.1%, well below the National median.

The remainder had come at a fairly steady rate over the years since the beginning of the century (Table 30). Slightly more than 20% of the migrants had come from other villages in Mae Taeng District, most of them from within Inthakhin Sub-district. The large majority of migrants (45.5%) had come from other districts in Chiengmai Province, with 11 of the 16 districts outside Mae Taeng being represented. 33.7% had come from other Provinces, notably Lamphun, which had contributed 28.7% of all lifetime migrants to Ban Pong.

Table 30

Place of Birth by Time of Move: Lifetime Migrants to Ban Pong

Place of Birth	Time of Move (percent of time period)					
	Pre-1924	1924-33	1934-43	1944-53	1954-63	Post-1963
Inthakhin	-	1.8%	6.5%	18.5%	29.3%	24.0%
Mae Taeng	6.1%	-	2.0	6.1	10.3	10.0
Chiengmai	72.3	61.0	39.0	18.5	41.4	42.4
Other Province	21.6	37.2	52.5	56.9	19.0	23.6
All sources over time	17.1	14.2	12.1	17.1	15.3	24.2

The movement of people from Lamphun Province to Ban Pong appears to have begun at least as early as the second decade of this century, some of the oldest surviving migrants from this source having come as children with their families prior to 1920. Since the village itself was only founded in the 1880s, it would seem that movement into it by people from Lamphun has been a feature from the very earliest days of the settlement. After the early 1920s, the number of migrants from Lamphun (again, of survivors) had increased with each decade, reaching a peak between the early 1940s and 1950s (Table 30). Virtually all

people involved in these moves had come as family groups. The majority of migrants from Lamphun up to the early 1950s were from a small number of villages in Mu'ang and Pa Sang Districts which, like the districts of San Pa Tong, Saraphi and San Kham Phaeng, adjacent to them across the border in Chiengmai Province (see Map 9), were long settled, densely populated and early centres of commercialisation. However, the picture has changed considerably since the early 1950s, with the movement of family groups from Lamphun to Ban Pong having virtually stopped and the overwhelming majority of those coming since this time moving as individuals to marry. In many cases these marriages were formed with Ban Pong residents who had come from Lamphun as children at an earlier time[1].

The patterns of migration from other districts in Chiengmai Province, outside Mae Taeng, has also changed considerably over time. Early movement (pre-1940) was mainly from Saraphi, Doi Saket and San Pa Tong Districts, in the southeast of Chiengmai Province (see Map 9). Movement from the latter district alone has continued at a steady rate until the present day. Again much of the early movement from these districts involved family groups, but the more recent migrants from these sources have tended to be individuals coming to Ban Pong to marry, as has been noted for migrants from Lamphun in recent years. Since the early 1950s, an increasing number of migrants to Ban Pong have come from the more northern districts, Chieng Dao, Fang and Phrao (see Map 4, p. 74), many of them coming as individuals in search of work. Prior to 1950, very few migrants had come from these sources.

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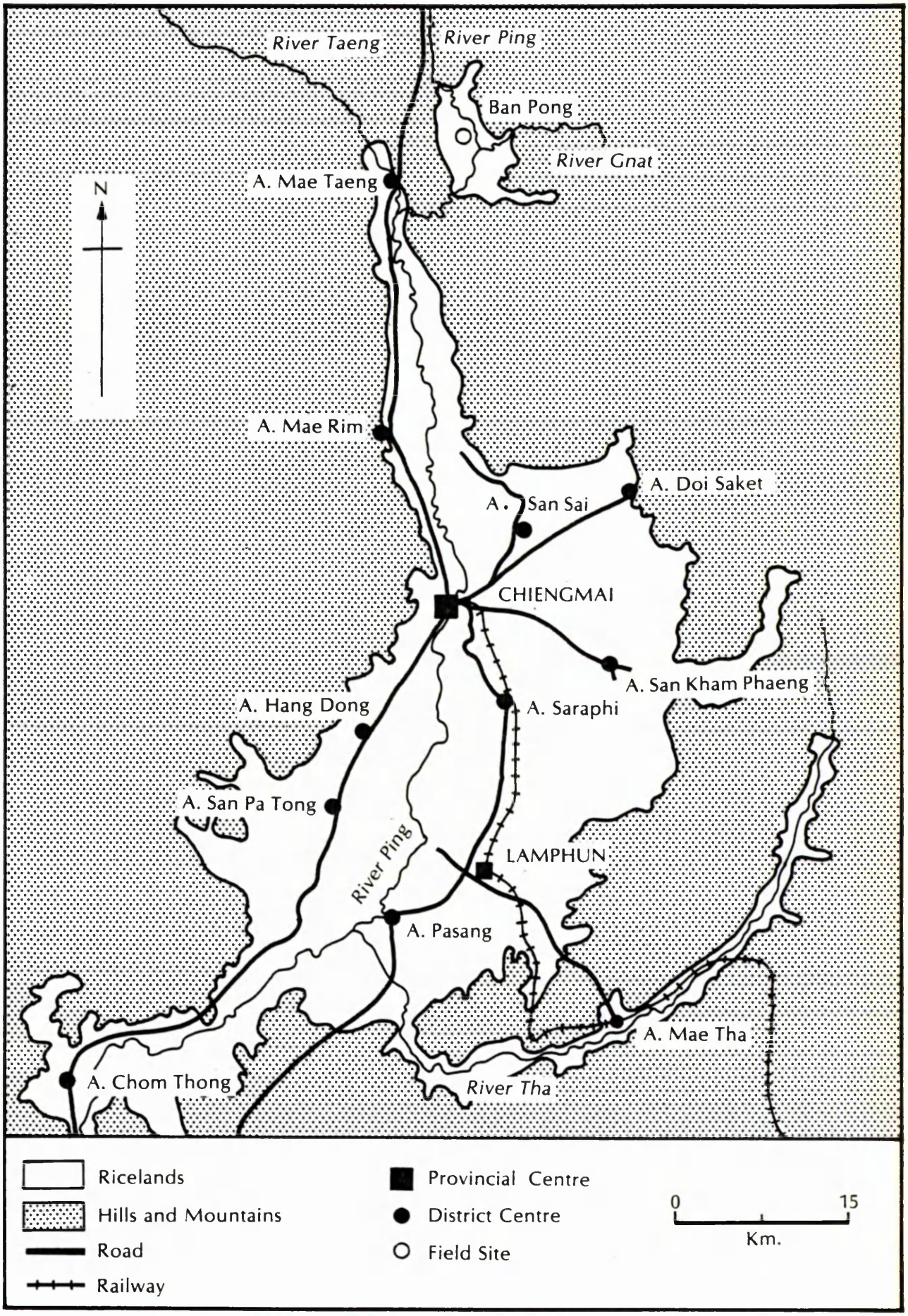
[1] The tendency for Yong migrants from Lamphun, and their Ban Pong-born offspring to marry within the group or to 'import' spouses from Lamphun, was extremely marked. I hope to discuss this pattern in greater detail elsewhere.

MAP 9. CHIENGMAI BASIN AND BAN PONG VILLAGE



Movement into Ban Pong from other sub-districts in Mae Taeng has been on a very small scale throughout, but with most of it occurring since the mid-1940s. The majority of these more recent migrants have been individuals marrying into Ban Pong, mostly from Chǫ Lae Sub-district, on the eastern side of Ban Pong Valley (see Map 5, p.76). Similarly, movement within Inthakhin Sub-district, virtually non-existant prior to the 1940s, has been steadily increasing. The majority of these local migrants had come from villages adjacent to Ban Pong (i.e. Ban Den, Ban Hang Dong and Nǫng Ǫn; see Map 6, p. 78) and had come to marry.

Thus it appears that there has been a marked change in the patterns of migration to Ban Pong over recent years. Before 1940, the majority of migrants had come as family groups (72%), from areas some distance from Ban Pong, notably Lamphun Province and the southeastern districts of Chiengmai Province. At that time only a small minority of migrants had moved to the village to marry (7.3%). The remainder of these early migrants had come as individuals to seek land, work, or to join kin already resident in the village. During the 1940s and early 1950s, movement from Lamphun increased dramatically, with well over 50% of all migrants moving then coming from this source[1]. By this time, movement from the southeastern districts of Chiengmai Province had virtually ceased, while local movement, within Mae Taeng and Inthakhin, had begun on a small scale. During this period the proportion of migrants coming as families had fallen to 45%, while the proportion coming in to marry had risen to almost 30%. Over the last 20 years, since the

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[1] Many of these later migrants had come from the same villages in Lamphun Province as the earlier pioneers. Such 'chain migrants', moving at a time of stress, had made use of a long-established migratory link between their natal villages and Ban Pong.

early 1950s, yet another pattern has developed. Migration from outside Chiengmai Province has declined to about 20% of all movement, while that within Mae Taeng District, and particularly within Inthakhin Sub-district, has increased rapidly to almost equal the flow from other districts in Chiengmai Province. As mentioned earlier, much of this recent movement from within the Province has been from districts north of Mae Taeng, namely Chieng Dao, Fang and Phrao. Only 30% of migrants coming to Ban Pong over the past 20 years had come as family groups, while over 50% had come to marry. The remainder had come to find work or to join kin (Tables 31 and 32).

Table 31

Place of Birth by Reason for Move: Lifetime Migrants, Ban Pong

Place of Birth	Reason for Move (% migrants from each source) To marry	To join kin	To find work/ land	Family moved	Other[1]
Inthakhin	69.1%	3.6%	-	25.5%	1.8%
Mae Taeng	41.7	12.5	4.2	41.7	-
Chiengmai	16.2	9.2	17.3	56.1	1.2
Other Province	12.5	6.3	17.2	54.7	9.4
All sources by reason	24.2	7.6	13.9	50.3	3.9

[1] 'Other' includes 2 cases of people moving because their land had been flooded, 2 because of drought, 7 because of food shortages, and 2 because of 'war'. All of these cases were of families moving from Lamphun or the southeastern districts of Chiengmai during the 1940s. In fact many of the others coming from these sources at that time were leaving for the same reasons, but have been classified as 'family moved' or 'to find work/land' in accordance with their actual responses in the survey.

Table 32

Reason for Move by Time of Move: Lifetime Migrants, Ban Pong

Time of Move	Reason for Move (% migrants in time period) To marry	To join kin	To find work/ land	Family moved	Other[1]
Pre-1924	7.7%	1.5%	10.8%	78.5%	1.5%
1924-33	5.5	5.5	20.4	68.6	-
1934-43	8.7	2.2	19.6	63.0	6.5
1944-53	29.2	1.5	10.8	44.6	13.9
1954-63	51.7	10.3[2]	12.1	25.9	-
Post-1964	33.7	18.5[2]	13.0	32.6	2.2

It was noted earlier that in rural Thailand as a whole, both the number and the rate of male migration are higher than for females. The major exception is movement into Greater Bangkok and other urban areas, where the pattern is reversed (Chamatritirong, 1976:153, and p.183 below). The proportion of lifetime migrants in Thailand as a whole is 14.2% of males and 13.0% of females, and the comparative figures for the Northern Region are 13.2% and 12.0%. A similar predominance of males is seen among lifetime migrants who had moved to Ban Pong from other provinces, though the proportions are much lower than the National and Regional averages, with 6.9% of males and 5.2% of females having been born outside Chiengmai Province. The sex ratio of lifetime migrants from other provinces to Ban Pong (132) is very much higher than the National average (109) and that for the Northern Region (111). In other words, there was proportionately a far greater number of males than females among lifetime migrants from other provinces who had moved to Ban Pong.

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[1] 'Other' - see footnote[1] on previous page.

[2] About a half of these cases involved the move of an individual to join his/her spouse's kin, following an initial period of post-marital residence in their own natal village. See Chapter 9, Section 9.3 on changing patterns of post-marital residence in Ban Pong.

However, when the sex ratio of lifetime migrants to Ban Pong from all sources is analysed, it approximates much more closely the National and Regional averages (108). Migrants coming to Ban Pong from Provinces outside Chiengmai have a much higher ratio than migrants coming from within the Province. In fact, with the exception of people moving from other villages in Inthakhin, for whom the proportion of males is quite high (111), those from all other sources include an excess of females. Thus in the case of migrants from other sub-districts in Mae Taeng the sex ratio is 71, and from other districts in Chiengmai Province 96. There is no evidence of a variation in these sex ratios over time. The sex ratio does however vary according to the age at which the migrants had come to Ban Pong. Those moving between the ages of 15 and 24, exhibit a very low ratio (71, i.e. females predominate), a factor which is probably related to the age at which women tend to marry (see Chapter 2, pp.92-94 , and Appendix 4). The opposite is true of the next age group of migrants, 25-34, in which more than twice as many men as women had moved in (ratio 210). Again, this is to a large extent attributable to the higher average age at marriage for males. In all other age groups the proportion of males moving in was slightly higher than for females. Despite the generally recognised preference for matrifocal residence following marriage in Northern Thailand (see Chapter 9), the sex ratio of people moving into Ban Pong to marry (104) showed only a slight preponderance of males.[1] The only category of migrants in which the number of males greatly exceeded that of females were those who had moved in to find work or land (165).

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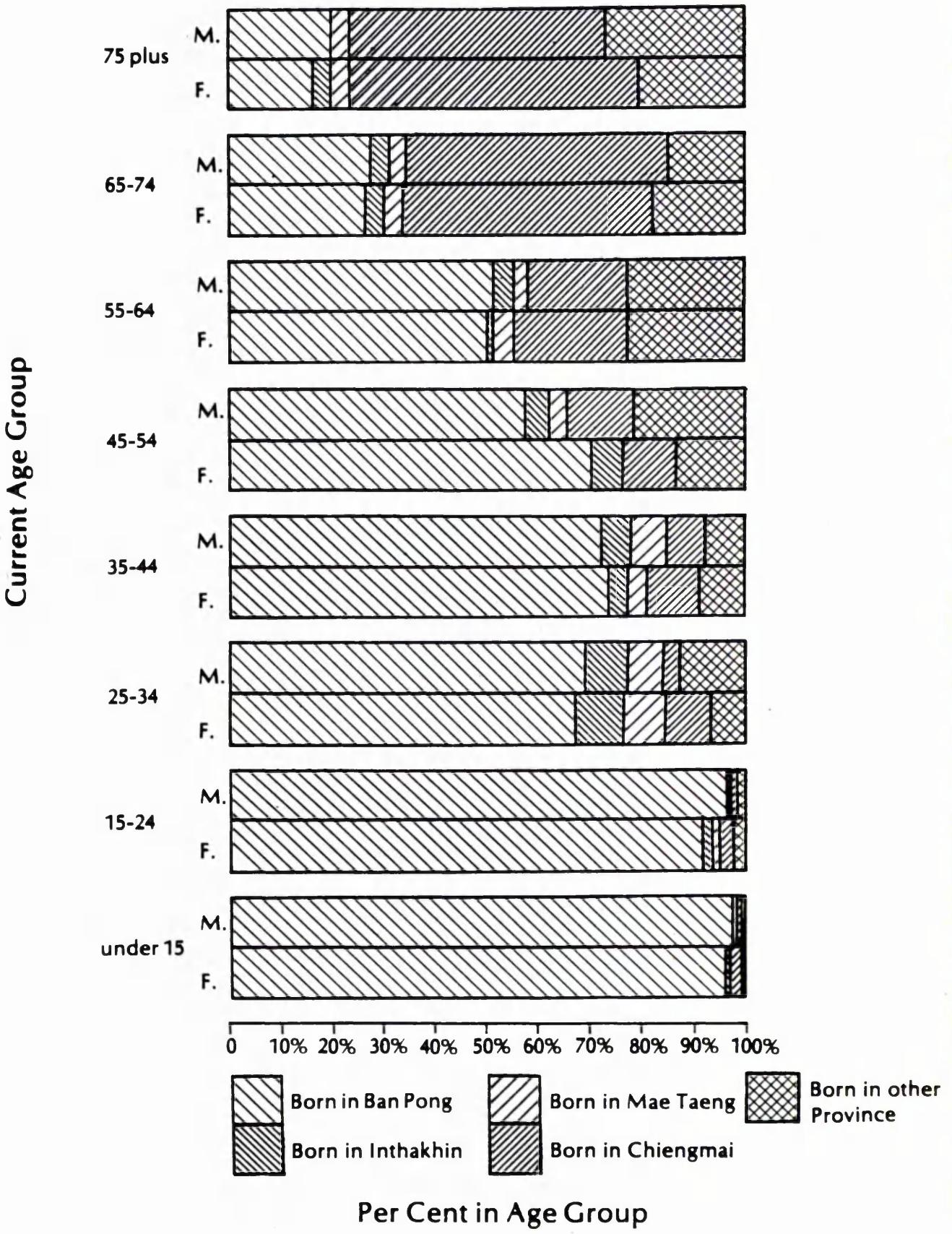
[1] In extant first marriages, in-marrying females outnumbered in-marrying males (ratio 81. See Chapter 9, Table 59, p. 422).

A consistent feature of all lifetime migrants to Ban Pong is their low average age at the time of the move. Only 10% of all migrants were aged 35 or more when they came to the village: 73% were under 25, 41% under 15. However, it should be born in mind that a large proportion of those who had moved as children are amongst the older members of Ban Pong's present-day population. Their own parents, who were involved in these early moves, will inevitably have been dead for many years, and so the distribution of age at moving amongst those interviewed is biased towards such surviving migrants who had moved as children.

In concluding this section, I would like to look finally at the way in which the lifetime migrants to Ban Pong are distributed amongst the different age groups in Ban Pong's present-day (i.e. 1973) population. Although, as we have seen, lifetime migrants from all sources only constitute 18% of the total population of the village, the proportion varies greatly according to current age. More than 70% of villagers now aged 65 or more had been born outside Ban Pong: about 50% of them had come from the southeastern districts of Chiengmai Province, and almost 20% from Lamphun. In contrast, less than 10% of those currently aged under 25 had been born outside the village. The distribution of places of birth of males and females according to their current age is presented in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Place of Birth, by Age and Sex, Ban Pong,1973



4.3 Long-term Migration from Ban Pong

The task of accurately reconstructing patterns of migration out of Ban Pong over past decades proved to be almost impossible in the absence of long-term Registration data. I did not attempt to collect comprehensive data on this subject in the Village survey since information concerning the departure of siblings, parents and other kin of current residents of the village would inevitably have led to considerable duplication of reports. Given the size of the population this would have presented enormous problems for analysis. Furthermore, and perhaps more seriously, an unknown number of former residents who had moved out of the village in the past leaving no kin behind, would not have been reported at all.

However, in order to give some indication of the type of destination chosen by migrants from Ban Pong, and to determine some of the demographic characteristics of these out-migrants, I present here two interesting, if limited, sets of data. The first was taken from the fertility histories in which all ever-married women under 60 had been asked to record the current place of residence of their living children.[1] Only 93 of the 1223 living children recorded in this survey (7.6%) were living outside Ban Pong in 1973. Unfortunately, information on the time of the move and the reasons for leaving Ban Pong were not recorded. Nevertheless, analysis of the current place of residence of these individuals provides an interesting insight into the pattern of migration out of Ban Pong. Slightly over 40% of the migrants had moved to Chiengmai city or to Bangkok, and 80% of these rural-urban migrants were female. This corresponds to the findings of Chamratrithirong in his analysis of migration data in the 1970 Census (1976:153, see p.179

[1] Unfortunately, this question was not included in the survey of fertility of women aged 60 and over.

above). Sternstein has noted that the sex ratio of migrants to Bangkok from Chiengmai Province in the five years prior to 1970, was particularly low (50-63. 1979b:35). In fact the sex ratio of all individuals in this sample leaving Ban Pong to all destinations was even lower (45). Apart from movement to urban areas, the next single most important destination was pa miang[1], which accounted for over 10% of emigrants. A further 20% had moved to other villages within the District or Sub-district, 29% to other districts in Chiengmai Province (notably to Chieng Dao and Fang, the location of many of the miang villages: this figure includes those going to pa miang), and 10% had moved to other Provinces (apart from Greater Bangkok).

Almost 60% of the out-migrants were under 25 years of age at the time of the survey and less than 10% were over 35. However, in view of the fact that they represent a biased sample (being the offspring of women currently under 60), no conclusions may be drawn from these figures. Perhaps the most interesting features of these outward movements, are the high proportion of females involved, and the dominance of rural-urban movement[2].

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[1] Miang, a wild tea plant, is cultivated in many mountainous areas in Chiengmai Province, hence pa miang ('miang forest'). The leaves are steamed and fermented to produce a mildly stimulating 'chew' which is consumed throughout the Northern Region. The movement of people from Ban Pong to the mountain hamlets in pa miang is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

[2] Although the reasons for leaving the village were not recorded in these cases, it was noted that the majority of migrants who had moved to Chiengmai city had much higher educational qualifications than their contemporaries remaining in the Village. It might therefore be assumed that they had left either to continue their studies or to find employment appropriate to their qualifications. This feature was not found among those who had gone to Bangkok. The occupation of recent migrants to Bangkok is discussed below in Section 4.4.

A final feature worthy of note, is that many of these young people who had left the Village had siblings who had also left, often moving together to the same destination. In fact, 63 of the 93 young men and women involved had come from only 21 households. These 21 households fall into three distinct groups. The first includes 5 of Ban Pong's wealthier land-owning households and the household of one of the Village teachers. Between 2 and 6 children had moved from each of these households to Chiengmai city or to Bangkok to continue their education[1]. The second group included three poorer households owning miang orchards in the hills, which some of their children had left Ban Pong to cultivate. Finally there were twelve landless households with particularly large families (5, 6 and 7 children) from which several had left to seek work outside the Village, most commonly in Fang or in Bangkok. It is from such households that many young women had moved to work as prostitutes in the Capital (see p. 193, below, footnote 1).

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[1] With the expansion of educational facilities in Thailand during the last decade, peasant families throughout the country have come to recognise its value as a means of enhancing their social and economic status (see Chapter 5, p. 237 and footnote 1). However, only a minority of wealthy rural families have had the means to educate their children beyond primary level.

A second source of data on long-term movement out of Ban Pong was the register of members of the Ban Pong Funeral Society. In the large majority of cases, absentee members were registered as family groups. In 1974, 135 households outside Ban Pong, including 532 individuals, were registered with the Society. Funeral societies in Northern Thailand are an important focus of village unity (see Potter, 1976:39-40), and the maintenance of membership of a society in a particular village by families who have moved away is a significant indicator of the enduring strength of their ties with the natal community. The current place of residence of absentee member households registered with the Ban Pong Funeral Society are presented in Table 33.

Table 33

Current Place of Residence: Absentee Members of Ban Pong Funeral Society, 1974

Current Residence	Households No.	%	Individuals No.	%	Ind./Household
pa miang	56	41.5	231	43.3	4.1
Other village in Inthakhin	22[1]	16.3	84	15.9	3.8
Other sub-district in Mae Taeng	21	15.6	87	16.3	4.1
Other district in Chiengmai	33[2]	24.4	117	22.0	3.5
Other province	3[3]	2.2	13	2.4	4.3
TOTAL	135	100.0	532	100.0	3.9

[1] Half of these households were resident in Ban Hang Dong, immediately adjacent to Ban Pong, to the south.

[2] Fourteen of these households were resident in Fang and 9 in Chiengmai town.

[3] One household was resident in each of Lamphun, Bangkok and 'south Thailand'.

It is particularly interesting to note that only 1 of the 135 absentee households was resident in Bangkok, whereas about a third of the offspring of women under 60, discussed earlier, had left the village to live in the Capital. I would suggest that this may reflect the different motives for leaving the Village of young, single people, mostly female, as compared to family groups. For many of the young the lure of the Capital city, and the possibility of making a living outside the agricultural sector, appears to be particularly appealing. Interestingly, Sternstein has argued that the recent and large-scale movement to Bangkok[1] of people from all parts of Thailand is more a result of 'pull' than 'push' factors. He writes:

> 'Most migrants to Bangkok have not been pushed off the land but attracted to the world's most primate city by certain urban amenities. As yet there has been no inrush of disendowed, uncertain rural folk...Although local conditions have influenced, and in some instances, dictate migration from the provinces, the attractions of the metropolitan area, not dearth in the countryside, appear to have been the decisive motivating factors.' (1976:411)

I will return to the question of young villagers seeking work in Bangkok in the following section. However, the type of conditions which Sternstein refers to as not stimulating rural-urban movement, are precisely those which I would suggest are responsible for the other important migratory stream identified by him (see p.170 above), namely the recent increase in movement to more remote and sparsely populated rural areas. Evidence of such movement by people from Ban Pong is given by the considerable number of families and individuals[2] who had left the Village to settle in Fang and, to a lesser extent, in Chieng Dao and Phrao. It would appear that people from other more

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[1] Sternstein (ibid:407) reports a 100% increase in the net number of in-migrants for Bangkok between 1960 and 1970.

[2] In some cases several families move together. For example in February 1974, 5 families left Ban Den for Fang. They were all related to each other by close kinship ties, and were moving to a village where a mutual kinsman had already settled.

densely populated areas in the Province have also moved to these remote northern districts to settle new lands. For example, Potter refers to a 'large emigrant community' from Ku Daeng (in Saraphi District) living outside the district town of Fang (1976:26). For many migrants the considerable reserves of cheap cultivable land still available in Fang are sufficient compensation for the absence of most of the social and physical comforts of more long-established settlements, and for the serious physical risks involved in living in this insurgency-prone border district[1].

A third, and numerically most significant migration flow from Ban Pong, was to pa miang. The complex patterns of interaction between the residents of these remote mountain villages and the people of Ban Pong in the valley, are discussed in detail in Chapter 8. Although, as we shall see, the miang industry provided a unique opportunity for the more resourceful and commercially-minded villagers to accumulate considerable wealth during the first decades of this century, in more recent years it has offered little more than a minimal livelihood for those unable to survive as wage labourers in the Valley.

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[1] However, in one case known to me, a young landless couple returned to Ban Pong after two attempts to settle in Fang. On the first occasion, in 1972, they had bought a 12 rai miang orchard in the mountains near the Burmese border, but sold it within a year because of the 'bandit problem' (panha phu rai). The following year they left Ban Pong again, this time buying a small 2 rai irrigated holding in Fang Valley. After one season's rice cultivation they sold this too, and returned to Ban Pong. They told me that the lawlessness and insecurity in such remote areas made it impossible to settle there and to bring up a young family. Back in Ban Pong they were obliged to compete with the many other landless households for wage labouring opportunities.

4.4 Current Patterns of Population Movement in Ban Pong

The most comprehensive and complete sources of data on population movement in Ban Pong in recent years are the two follow-up surveys conducted in March 1974 and March 1975. In these surveys, the head of each household was asked to give details of all individuals who had moved into or out of that house during the preceeding year. The source or destination, as well as the reason for moving, were recorded in each case. Using the 1973 survey as a baseline, it was possible to trace all inward and outward (as well as internal) movements occuring during this two year period. Although the total village population varied only slightly during this time (there was a small overall reduction in the population from 2110 in 1973, to 2090 in 1974, to 2063 in 1975), the total number of individuals moving during the two year period was 538. Altogether 145 people had moved into the village, 222 had left, and 171 had moved from one household to another within Ban Pong. Bearing in mind that a small proportion of these moves involved the same individuals (moving into the village one year and out the next, for example), these figures indicate that in each of the two years studied an average of one person in eight had changed their place of residence. Although it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions on the basis of only two years' data as to whether this considerable volume of movement is typical for Ban Pong, it would nevertheless suggest that this is a highly mobile population.

Movement into Ban Pong was somewhat higher in 1973-4 than in 1974-5 (89 and 56 migrants respectively), and the sex ratio of in-migrants varied from a fairly well-balanced 106 to a low 65 over this time.

Since such fluctuations are to be expected in a small population, over short time periods, the remaining analyses are based on a mean for the two years studied. The origins of these new migrants reflect the trends found for the more recent lifetime migrants to Ban Pong (Table 30). The proportion of new migrants from other villages in Inthakhin had increased to a higher level than at any time in the past (35%). There was very little change in the proportion of migrants from Mae Taeng (8.8%), nor of those from other Districts in Chiengmai Province, notably Chieng Dao and Fang (42.6%), while the proportion coming from other provinces (mostly from Lamphun, Chiengrai and Mae Hong Son), had declined to 19.1%. Thus it seems that in recent years the proportion of migrants from more distant sources has been declining in favour of those from areas close to Ban Pong.

The age distribution of the recent migrants to Ban Pong is similar to that found for lifetime migrants to the village, with about 70% of them under 30 years at the time of the move. Their reasons for moving, however, show considerable differences. The proportion of migrants moving into Ban Pong between 1973 and 1975, who had come to marry, was only 15%, those coming to find work 27.5%, while almost 50% had come to join kin already resident in the village. The latter figure is of particular interest since although, as has been noted earlier, the proportion of lifetime migrants moving into the village to join kin had been increasing over the past 2-3 decades (Table 32), this recent figure is very much higher than ever before. To a large extent this striking difference can be explained by the fact that the majority of individuals involved were people who had been born in Ban Pong, had

lived away from the village for some time, and were now returning to their natal homes. In a number of cases, these same people had moved out again by the following year. Many of them had been working outside the village, others had been residing with their spouse's kin and were returning to set up home in their own village, while others were returning to live with their parents or other kin, following a divorce. A small number of men had been away in the army, or had been ordained in temples outside the village. Clearly this type of return movement would have been overlooked if only lifetime migration had been analysed.

Movement out of Ban Pong was again slightly higher in 1973-4 than in 1974-5 (117 and 105 respectively). Furthermore, the sex ratio of those leaving the Village in 1973-4 was much higher than in the following year (120 and 78), as was noted for those moving in to Ban Pong during these two years. The destinations of people leaving the Village between 1973 and 1975 were similar to those reported in the two small samples of long-term migrants from Ban Pong discussed in the previous section. However, the proportion of recent migrants moving to urban areas (Chiengmai city or Bangkok), was 23%, considerably lower than in the first sample population, although the proportion of females involved was almost as high (70%). Apart from those who had moved to Bangkok, 8% of the recent migrants from Ban Pong had left Chiengmai Province. A further 40% had moved to other districts within the Province (excluding those who had moved to the city), notably Chieng Dao, Fang and Phrao. Again, many of these individuals had left to work in pa miang. The remaining 29% of those leaving Ban Pong during this period had moved to villages in Inthakhin Sub-district or elsewhere in Mae

Taeng District, a higher figure than that found for the first sample of long-term out-migrants. I would suggest that the reason why the proportion of long-distance, inter-provincial and particularly rural-urban movements was higher in the first sample population of long-term migrants than among those who left the Village during the two years studied, while the converse is true of more local movements, is because a large proportion of the more recent moves are likely to be of short duration, and are therefore more in evidence in figures dealing with movement occurring over a short period of time. The validity of this assumption will be discussed shortly.

As we have seen in all migrant groups so far, the majority of recent migrants leaving Ban Pong were under 30 (77%). However, it is of interest to note that this group included an unusually high proportion of older men (27% over 30 as compared to 17% of the women). The major reason given for the departure of the migrants was to find work; at 45% this proportion was considerably higher than for recent migrants moving into the village for this reason. 15.3% had left to marry, and 32% had gone to join kin in other villages. As noted above, one can expect many of these local moves to be of short duration.

Some light can be thrown on the nature of such temporary moves by the analysis of data collected in the 1974 survey, in which all those currently resident in the village (aged 15 and over) were asked if they had worked outside the village during the previous year. Some 87 people (6% of adults), two-thirds of them male, had done so. Examination of the destination of these temporary migrants confirms

my earlier suggestion, that short-term movements are more likely to be local, than long-distance. Indeed, only 10% of these temporary migrants had left Chiengmai Province to find work, and most of these were young women who had been to Bangkok to work for a few months. About 20% had found work in other villages in Mae Taeng District, most of them outside Inthakhin, but the large majority, almost 70%, had worked elsewhere in Chiengmai Province. The majority of these individuals had worked in Chieng Dao, Fang and Phrao, or in Chiengmai city which, as we have seen, were also the destinations of the majority of both long-term and recent migrants from Ban Pong.

Information was obtained on the type of work involved in these temporary movements, and their duration. Those who had been to Bangkok, almost all of them women, had been employed as domestic servants, or in 'Beauty Salons'[1] and other small businesses, and had generally been away from the Village for several months. Many of those who had worked in Chiengmai city were involved in more regular jobs, which enabled

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[1] Although I did not gather quantitative data on the number of young women from Ban Pong who had left the Village to work as prostitutes in Bangkok, I would suggest that a sizeable proportion of those who had worked for some time in the Capital had been employed in this way. The reality of prostitution, kan khai tua (lit. 'to sell the body'), although openly acknowledged by villagers, was regarded with a mixture of embarassment and grudging envy towards the few who had made a lot of money or had found comparatively high status (particularly foreign) husbands in Bangkok. It was not possible to positively identify all those village women who had been involved in prostitution, since very few were prepared to admit to it themselves. For instance I interviewed one woman who had moved from Ban Pong to Bangkok in the early 1960s and had later married a Thai army officer. At the time of my fieldwork I was told by a number of informants in Ban Pong that she was running a 'recruitment service' for Village girls to work in the brothels of Bangkok. Although when I visited her in the city there were at least six young women from Ban Pong staying with her, she insisted that they had simply 'come to visit' (ma aeo). Khin Thitsa (1980:13) has pointed out that many women are drawn into prostitution because of the grossly inadequate wages paid to women in the city. See also Turton (1976:264-5) on the subject of prostitution.

them to travel back and forth to Ban Pong. Such jobs included hotel work, civil service, trading, bus conducting and construction work. Temporary movement to other districts in the Province was generally of very short duration, less than one month, such as to pa miang for harvesting, or elsewhere for agricultural labouring. A number of men had been to work in the forests as woodcutters, for one or two weeks, or as road builders. Those who had moved within Mae Taeng District tended to be involved in irrigation and other construction work, or in the local tobacco curing factories. In some cases these jobs provided regular employment, though most involved short-term contracts of 1-2 months' duration.

Analysis of the age, sex and marital status of these temporary migrants provides some interesting insights. As mentioned earlier, almost twice as many men were involved in such moves as women. The large majority of women (76%) were under 30 and unmarried, while only 41% of the men fell into this category. Almost half of the men were over 30, and over one third of them were married.

Finally, although it would be impossible to determine with any certainty the extent of such short-term movement away from the Village to find work in the past (other than that involved in corvee obligations discussed in Chapter 1, pages 47-48), an indication of the long history of such movement is given by data on the participation of Ban Pong villagers in the pa miang. All men and women aged 15 and over were asked in the 1974 survey whether they had ever worked in pa miang in the past. Overall, 16% of respondents had done so. However, the highest proportion of former miang workers was in the oldest age group

(26% of those aged 65 and over), indicating that such movement has been a prominent feature of life in Ban Pong for many years. Although this represents an essentially unique situation, since many of the other sources of employment outside the Village would not have been available more than 10 or 20 years ago, it nevertheless provides evidence of a well-established tradition of villagers leaving Ban Pong to work elsewhere for short periods of time. The operation of the miang industry, and the participation in it of the population of Ban Pong, will be discussed in detail later (Chapter 8).

In addition to the high rates of movement into and out of Ban Pong, there was also a considerable volume of movement from one household to another within the village, with 171 people (8% of the total Village population) making such a move during the two years studied (1973-5). Unlike those involved in inward or outward movements, the sex ratio of those moving within the Village was virtually equal (101). However, their ages were similar to those found for all other migrant groups, with well over 65% of those moving being under 30. A third of those moving within the village had moved as individuals, in most cases being young men or women marrying into other households. Most of the remaining 70% of local movers were families with young children setting up an independent household after living with the parents of one or other spouse. There were also a few cases of older people, moving as individuals, to join kin following the death of a parent or spouse, or after the breakup of a marriage. Others were young children or adolescents (mostly female), moving to live with grandparents or other kin to assist with domestic duties[1].

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[1] A similar pattern was found for the offspring of residents of pa miang, many of whom were sent to live with grandparents in Ban Pong until they reached working age (see Chapter 8). Apart from providing company and assistance for grandparents, such moves also serve to reduce the financial burden in families with several young children.

4.5 The Registration Data

Registration data on movement into and out of Mae Taeng District, Inthakhin Sub-district and Ban Pong Village, were available for most years between 1962 and 1973[1]. These data are compared here in order to determine the extent to which migration patterns in Ban Pong reflect those in the District and Sub-district. Two migration measures have been computed in order to make this comparison: the standardised turnover and the migration ratio. The standardised turnover (the sum of all inward and outward movement as a rate per 1000 population) provides a measure of the overall volume of movement in a particular year. The migration ratio represents the number of inward movements per 100 outward movements, thus a high ratio (over 100) would indicate that more people had moved in than out in that year, while a low ratio (below 100) would mean the reverse. The combination of these two measures provides a clear picture of migration trends by indicating both the volume and the direction of movement, and also permits comparison between populations of different sizes (Table 34).

Table 34

Migration Rates: Mae Taeng, Inthakhin and Ban Pong, 1962-73

Year	Standardised Turnover			Migration Ratio		
	Mae Taeng	Inthakhin	Ban Pong	Mae Taeng	Inthakhin	Ban Pong
1962	26	n/a	n/a	89	n/a	n/a
1963	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1964	63	n/a	n/a	142	n/a	n/a
1965	48	41	35	72	99	81
1966	46	62	44	76	72	39
1967	46	49	44	100	86	69
1968	53	81	41	109	155	66
1969	38	43	29	103	115	140
1970	57	55	47	103	84	71
1971	35	35	20	92	80	35
1972	45	n/a	n/a	102	n/a	n/a
1973	55	n/a	n/a	124	n/a	n/a

[1] The contribution made by net migration to the overall growth rates in Mae Taeng and Inthakhin was discussed in Chapter 1 (pp.77 -81).

Several points of interest emerge from examination of these data. First, in each year for which data are available, the turnover of population in Ban Pong was slightly lower than for either Inthakhin or Mae Taeng. Given the evidence presented in the previous section of the considerable volume of movement in and out of Ban Pong in recent years, this would suggest that the population of Mae Taeng as a whole must be highly mobile. Second, with a few exceptions, the turnover figures did not vary enormously from one year to another, nor are the differences between District, Sub-district and village very great. Thus, apart from being slightly lower than in Mae Taeng and Inthakhin, the volume of population movement in Ban Pong would seem to be fairly typical of other villages in the area.

The migration ratios on the other hand show a much greater degree of variation both from year to year and from District to Sub-district to Village. In 1965, 1966 and 1971, for example, all three populations experienced a net loss of migrants, but in the latter two of these years the loss from Ban Pong was exceptionally high. In 1968, while Mae Taeng and Inthakhin[1] both experienced a net gain of migrants, Ban Pong again experienced a loss. In fact, in only one of the seven years for which data are available for Ban Pong (1969) was there a net gain of migrants. The mean migration ratios for Mae Taeng and Inthakhin for the years for which data are available were 98 and 99 respectively. Thus during those years the number of in-migrants was more or less balanced by the number of out-migrants. In the case of Ban Pong on the other hand, the mean migration ratio for 1965-1971 was 67. In other

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[1] The exceptionally high migration ratio for Inthakhin in 1968 (155) involved 412 in-migrants (more than twice the number in other years) and 265 out-migrants (a slightly higher number than in most other years). Unfortunately I was unable to ascertain the reasons for this considerable influx, nor the village or villages within the Sub-district into which the migrants had moved.

words 33% more people had moved out of Ban Pong during this period than had moved in. The impact of this substantial and persistent loss of population in recent years on the structure of the population of Ban Pong, is discussed in the following section. One must conclude that the types of factors which cause people to migrate within this area, must vary considerably within the District, and even within the Sub-district. It would appear that not only has Ban Pong been a much less attractive destination for migrants in recent years than other villages in the area, but it has also sustained a proportionally much greater loss of population.

In view of the general under registration of population movement in Thailand, it would be useful to test the validity of these figures. Unfortunately, Registration data concerning movement in and out of Ban Pong were not available later than 1971, and it is not possible therefore to make a direct comparison with my survey figures (for 1973-1975). Nevertheless, movements recorded in the 1974 and 1975 surveys were analysed to see how they compare with the earlier Registration data. Since it is not required by law to register a move if it occurs within a sub-district, such moves have been excluded from these calculations.

The migration ratio for Ban Pong, as a mean for the two years studied, was thus 54, a somewhat lower figure than the average for the seven years for which Registration data were available (67). Since the method by which population movements are registered[1] is unlikely to produce a

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[1] 'Under the law, a change of residence must be registered within a fortnight of its occurrence. At present, the change of residence form comprises three copies which are coloured green, pink and yellow. The yellow forms are retained at the district office from which a move is made and at which the registration process begins; the green and pink forms are brought, by the mover, to the district office to which a move is made. When a move is complete, the pink form is returned to the district office from which the move was made.' (Mougne and Sternstein, 1978:vii).

bias towards under-reporting movement in one direction rather than the other, the figure probably indicates a proportionally greater than average outward movement between 1973-75. The mean turnover for the two years, however, was 64/1000, a very much higher figure than for any of the seven years covered in the Registration data. Although one can not exclude the possibility of a large increase in the turnover of population in Ban Pong since 1972, I would suggest that the more plausible explanation for this discrepancy is that it reflects the extent of under-registration of population movement. Since the mean turnover calculated from the Registration data for the years 1965-71 was only 37, it is possible that the Registration data are under-estimated by at least one third.

4.6 The Impact of Migration on Age Structure

The distribution of a population according to age and sex is a product of several major variables: the sex ratio at birth, the birth rate, age and sex-specific death rates, and age and sex-specific migration rates. Clearly the sex ratio of any cohort, and its proportion in relation to the whole population, will vary with the progress of time. In this section I will examine the way in which the sex ratio of each age group in the Ban Pong population changed between 1973 and 1975, to assess the relative impact of migration.

In March 1973 the population of Ban Pong numbered 2110, and its sex ratio was balanced (100). By March 1975 there had been 68 births, 38 deaths, 145 in-migrants and 222 out-migrants. Thus the population had decreased slightly, to 2063, a rate of about -1.1% in each of the two

years. Surprisingly, despite the large numbers of gains and losses occurring over this period, the sex ratio of the whole population remained the same.

The most consistent and striking feature of all migrant populations examined in this chapter has been their youth, with the overwhelming majority being under 30 at the time of their move. I would now like to look at the way in which this phenomenon has influenced the age structure of the village in recent years. In Table 35, age and sex-specific turnover and migration ratios are given as a mean for the two years studied, 1973-75[1].

Table 35

Age-Specific Turnover and Migration Ratios, by Sex, 1973-75

Current Age Group	Turnover/1000		Migration Ratio[2]	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0-9	90	68	67	92
10-19	54	90	32	56
20-29	205	250	65	50
30-39	76	73	111	100
40-49	55	35	50	125
50 plus[3]	60	43	90	100

[1] In this section, movements within Inthakhin Sub-district have been included in the analysis.

[2] In view of the very small number of migrants aged 30 and over, the ratios tend to be exaggerated by minor differences in inward and outward movement.

[3] Older age groups have been combined because of small number of migrants involved.

The age-specific turnover figures illustrate dramatically the impact of the high level of movement of both males and females aged 20-29. Although this age group constituted only 12% of the total village population in 1973, the volume of movement was so great that it artificially raised the mean turnover for the whole village (88), although the figure for most other age groups was well below this mean. The migration ratios show a net loss of males and females in all age groups under 30, while those aged over 30 were comparatively balanced in terms of inward and outward movements. In order to assess the impact of these patterns on the age structure of the population of Ban Pong, the 1973 and 1975 sex ratios are compared in Table 36.

Table 36

Age-specific Sex Ratios, 1973 and 1975

Age in 1973	Sex Ratios 1973	1975
0-9	105	102[1]
10-19	90	90
20-29	114	125
30-39	101	102
40-49	106	104
50 plus	97	99

The sex ratio of children under 10 had declined slightly between 1973 and 1975, the net loss of young males through migration being higher than for females in this age group (Table 35). However, because of higher age-specific mortality of females during this period (see Chapter 3, Table 20, p.140), the decline in the sex ratio was less acute than it would otherwise have been. The already low sex ratio for the 10-19 age group showed no change over the two years. Although the

[1] Births occurring during the two years have been excluded.

migration ratio for males in this age group was exceptionally low, the turnover of females aged 10-19 was much higher than for males, so that the actual number of young males and females lost through migration was the same for both sexes. Given very little difference in age-specific mortality for males and females in this age group, the result has been a maintenance of the same sex ratio[1]. The sex ratio for the age group 20-29, already high in 1973 (presumably as a result of a higher net loss of females in previous years), had increased further by 1975. No deaths were recorded for this age group during this period. Although both the net loss and the turnover were exceptionally high for males, the female rates were even higher, thus resulting in a further increase in the sex ratio. There was very little change in the sex ratio in the age group 30-39 over the two years, because although the migration ratio and turnover of males were marginally higher than for females, male mortality was also slightly higher than for females in the same age group. The sex ratio for age group 40-49 showed a slight decline because although there was higher female mortality in this age group, the net loss of males through migration was also high, and there was a small net gain of female migrants. Finally, in the age group 50 and over, the sex ratio had increased slightly. This was the result of somewhat higher mortality rates for females than for males, and a slightly larger number of males than females lost through migration.

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[1] This age group, born between 1954 and 1963, had a comparatively high sex ratio at birth. However, lower survival rates of males born during this period would have reduced the ratio by several points. Nevertheless, this does not account for the low ratio in 1973. It would appear therefore that more males than females in this cohort had left Ban Pong prior to my first survey.

It would be interesting to speculate on the volume of population movement which will have occurred in and out of Ban Pong in the late 1970s and early 1980s once the exceptionally large cohort, aged 10-19 in 1973, had reached the age of peak mobility. Unless economic conditions had improved substantially in the interim, one would expect an unprecedentedly high turnover of population within the community.

SUMMARY

The social and economic changes which have influenced, and been influenced by changing patterns of migration in Ban Pong since the early years of its settlement, will be discussed in detail later in the thesis. However, in this summary of the findings presented in the current chapter, I refer briefly to some of the critical changes which have incluenced the decisions made by people in the community in order to highlight the more important factors involved in population movement.

In the first decades of this century, when land in Ban Pong was still plentiful, a steady stream of migrants from more densely populated districts in the southeast of Chiengmai Province, and those adjacent to them across the border in northern Lamphun, moved into the area. By the late 1940s, when virtually all land in the Valley had been laid claim to and cleared for cultivation (see Chapter 7), these major migration flows ceased. Movement out of the Valley during this early period is likely to have been on a small scale, with much of it being seasonal movement to the hills during the miang harvest, to supply the important local industry (see Chapter 8).

Since the 1950s, with land in the Valley no longer agailable for clearance, and the population seeking tenancies and wage labouring opportunities having increased far beyond the local capacity to support them, movement out of the Valley has intensified. Since at least the early 1960s, the numbers leaving Ban Pong each year have greatly exceeded the number of new arrivals. Although a considerable number of people continue to move into Ban Pong each year, many of them are former residents of the Village who had spent some time living elsewhere. Recent migrants who had been born outside Ban Pong fell into two main groups; first, those from within the Sub-district, most of whom had come to marry, and second, those from the more northern districts in the Province who had come to find work. The latter group tended to represent the most impoverished section of the community. Their reasons for moving to Ban Pong, despite the already considerable under-employment in the Village, were often related to the fact that the upland scrub and forest area immediately to the west of the Valley could still provide a minimal livelihood by gathering of wild products such as honey, ants' eggs or mushrooms, and hunting for small game for sale or barter within the Village.[1]

The growing numbers of people leaving Ban Pong in recent years fall into three main groups. The first, predominantly young females, had moved to Bangkok to find work. The second, including young families and single people of both sexes, had moved to pa miang to work as labourers or tenants. The third group, mostly young families, had moved to the sparsely populated districts to the north of Mae Taeng, to open up new lands, or to seek work as labourers or tenants. In most cases of

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[1] See Chapter 7, p.332, footnote 1.

movement to pa miang and to Fang or Chieng Dao, the more recent migrants had settled in villages or hamlets already inhabited by earlier migrants from Ban Pong. Links between such migrant communities with their natal village tend to be strong and enduring (see Chapter 8).

The problem, discussed by Bogue (1959), of classification of migrants is particularly relevant in the analysis of population movement in Ban Pong:

> 'Theoretically the term 'migration' is reserved for those changes of residence that involve a complete change and readjustment of the community affiliations of the individual. In the process of changing his community of residence, the migrant tends simultaneously to change employers, friends, neighbours...and many other social and economic ties. The local mover, by contrast, may simply move across the street or to a house a few blocks away...However, it is difficult to separate local movers from migrants in a way that is satisfactory for all purposes.' (ibid:489).

As we have seen, the complex patterns of population movement both into and out of Ban Pong, throughout the entire period examined in this chapter, have tended in most cases to occur within a framework of enduring social ties. The classification of villagers who had moved to pa miang is further complicated by their relationship of economic inter-dependence with the lowland community. I will return to this problem in Chapter 8.

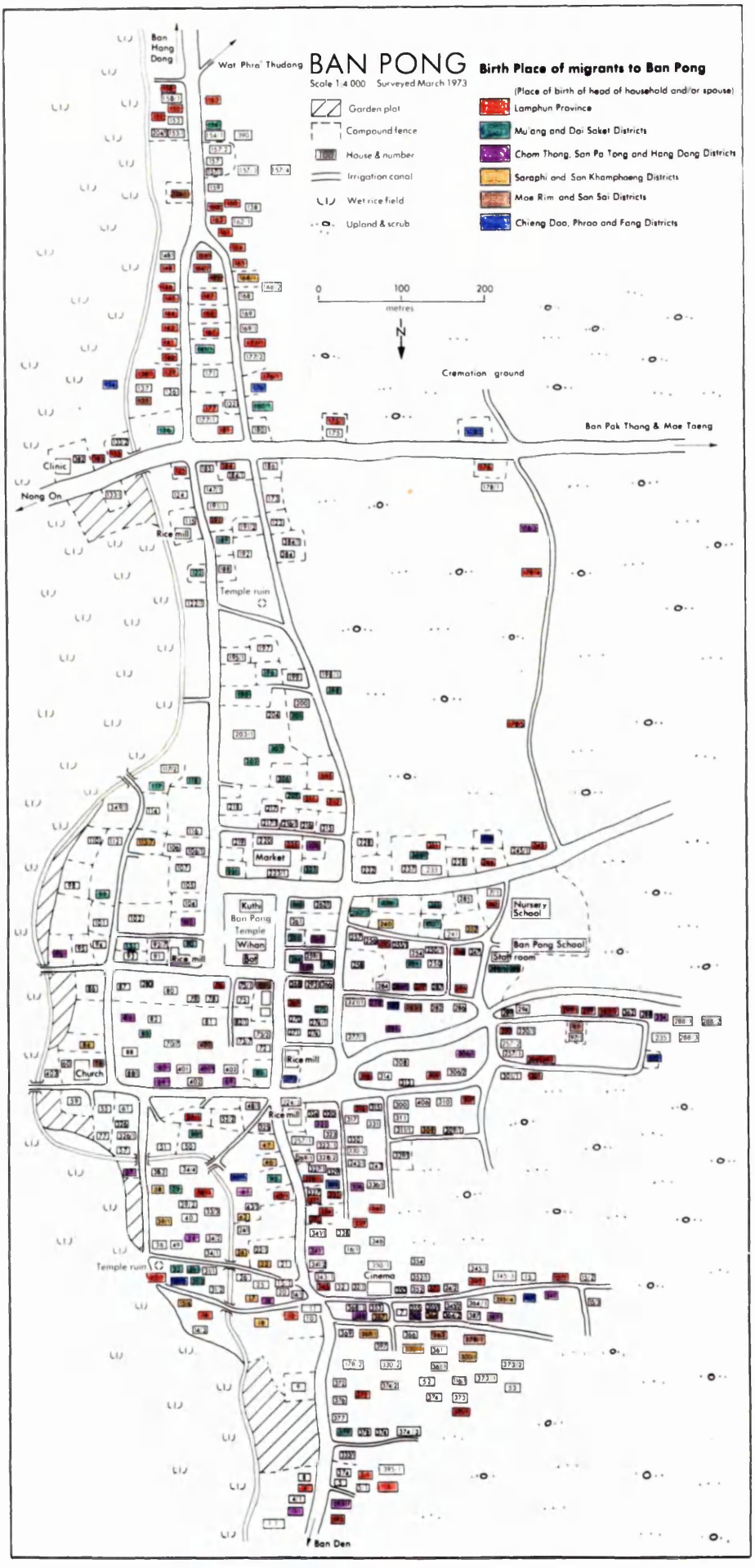
The considerable local movement occurring within Mae Taeng, and particularly within Inthakhin, which represented more than 40% of movements into Ban Pong and almost 30% of movement out of the Village between March 1973 and March 1975, is overlooked in the Census data which deals only with movement down to the district level. Thus the migration data for Chiengmai as presented in the Census give only a partial picture of population movement within the Province. To test

the degree to which Ban Pong is representative of other villages in the area in terms of its migration patterns in recent years, the Registration data for the Village were compared with those for Mae Taeng and Inthakhin. The volume of movement, expressed as the annual turnover of population, was found to be only slightly lower in Ban Pong than in both the District and Sub-district. However, the migration ratio, indicating direction of movement, suggested that Ban Pong has consistently lost a much greater proportion of its population through outward migration for at least the past decade than either Inthakhin or Mae Taeng.

Finally, Prachuabmoh et al (1979), in their analysis of urban and rural migration in Thailand in the late 1960s and early 1970s, have concluded:

> 'The reasons for migration of male heads of households were collected...and results support the conclusions of many other studies that much migration is economically motivated.' (ibid:55)

However, they go on to note that in the case of rural migrants, a majority of informants had given family reasons, such as marriage or following relatives. I would suggest that the choices leading to such moves commonly have an important economic basis, so that in the large majority of cases the decision to change one's place of residence is contingent on the prospect of economic benefits to be gained by the move, whether it is into a different area or a different household. The impact of such decisions on patterns of post-marital residence are discussed in detail in Chapter 9.


BAN PONG
Scale 1:4 000 Surveyed March 1973
Birth Place of migrants to Ban Pong
(Place of birth of head of household and/or spouse)
Garden plot
Compound fence
House & number
Irrigation canal
Wet rice field
Upland & scrub
Lamphun Province
Mu'ang and Doi Saket Districts
Chom Thong, San Pa Tong and Hang Dong Districts
Saraphi and San Khamphaeng Districts
Mae Rim and San Sai Districts
Chieng Dao, Phrao and Fang Districts
0 100 200
metres
N
Ban Hang Dong
Wat Phra Thudong
Cremation ground
Ban Pak Thang & Mae Taeng
Clinic
Nong On
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Market
Kuthi
Ban Pong
Temple
Wihan
Nursery School
Ban Pong School
Staff room
Church
Cinema
Ban Den

MAP 10

Birth Place of Migrants to Ban Pong

CHAPTER 5

FAMILY PLANNING AND FERTILITY CONTROL IN BAN PONG

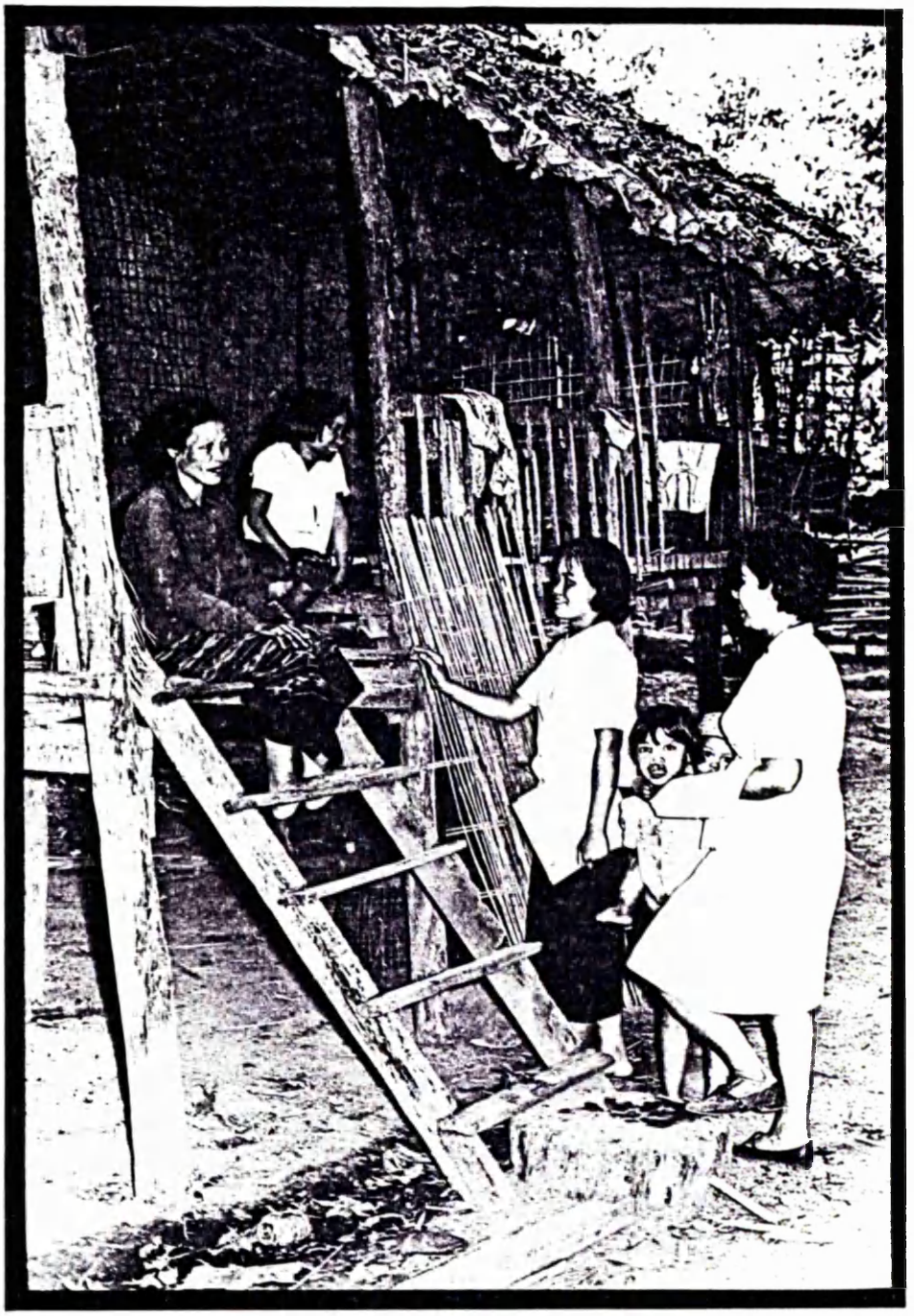


PLATE 5: Members of the McCormick Hospital Family Planning Team visit a house in Ban Pong during the Village Survey (January 1967. Photograph by courtesy of Dr. E.B. McDaniel)

5. Introduction

The decline in fertility rates in Chiengmai Province, beginning in the early 1960s and accelerating towards the end of that decade, was discussed in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, a similar pattern was found to have occurred in Ban Pong, with a particularly rapid fall in birth rates taking place since the introduction of a family planning programme to the Village in 1967. In this chapter, I examine some of the factors involved in the acceptance of modern contraceptive methods by women in Ban Pong. On the basis of beliefs associated with traditional post-partum customs, I will argue that the population was preconditioned to the concept of birth spacing. The major demographic and economic characteristics of family planning acceptors will be investigated to determine the significance of factors such as age, parity and land ownership to acceptance rates.

5.1 Traditional Methods of Birth Control in Ban Pong

Warrington Smyth, an explorer travelling through Nan Province on his way to Chieng Khong at the end of the nineteenth century, made the following observations about the inhabitants of the Northern Region:

> 'I was astonished at the number of children I saw there,... every man we met in the jungle having some four or five of his sons with him. Ten or even fifteen children is a number not uncommon for one woman, while in Siam, as a rule, the number three is not exceeded. I imagine the population must be now recovering from the effects of the continual warfare which existed before Siam made its rule felt in the north, and which no doubt accounts for the meagre population throughout the entire peninsula.' (1895:21)

The results of a survey, conducted in Ban Pong in 1973, in which all women aged 60 and over[1] were interviewed on the subject of fertility and traditional birth customs, provided evidence in support of Warrington Smyth's impressions. The generally high number of pregnancies reported by these women, both for themselves and for their mothers, would suggest that in the past little was actively done to control natural fertility.

The survey included a number of questions dealing with traditional methods of fertility control. Only three methods of avoiding pregnancy were mentioned by informants. The first, and most common, was the use of ya khap or ya ron ('secreting' or 'hot' medicine) a mixture of unidentified traditional medicinal ingredients, which when added to water or alcohol was said to regulate menstrual bleeding. A second method, mentioned by only one informant, was to drink a concoction comprising dried and powdered elephant afterbirth (hok chang) mixed with alcohol, and drunk in order to prolong the interval between

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[1] Questionnaires were completed for 68 women aged 60 and over. A small number of old women were excluded because they were unable to remember the details required for the survey.

successive pregnancies. The third method, said to curtail pregnancies altogether, was klap mot luk (to revert the uterus), which involved manually lifting the womb, pushing it upwards away from the vagina, then tilting the upper end forwards in the belly. This method, usually performed by the mǫ tamyae (traditional midwife), was best done within a few days of delivery when the womb was still large and mobile enough to be repositioned[1]. There was little evidence in the survey that any of these three methods was used by more than a small minority of women in the past.

However, there does appear to have been a widespread desire to space births, if not to limit them entirely. Evidence for this first came to my notice during a discussion with Ui Can, one of Ban Pong's traditional midwives, on the subject of yu fai ('lying by the fire')[2]. According to Ui Can, this traditional post-partum practice:

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[1] Professor Huntingford commented that this procedure is unlikely to have had any lasting impact on fertility as the womb would soon contract back into its normal position (personal communication).

[2] I was surprised to find that this traditional post-partum practice, common in most other parts of Thailand (see Hanks, 1963; Rajadhon, 1965 and Pederson, 1968) was not observed by women in Ban Pong. Although Keyes has since suggested that Northern Thailand is the only part of Southeast Asia where women do not 'lie by the fire' (1977:158), I would argue that this is a comparatively recent phenomenon. In fact, in at least two Northern provinces, Nan and Mae Hong Son, I observed women 'lying by the fire', and was told that the custom is still followed by the majority of women in these areas. Although some of my older informants who had been born outside Ban Pong could remember seeing women 'lying by the fire', in some cases their own mothers, no-one reported its occurrence in Ban Pong itself. One old woman explained that the reason for this was that people in Ban Pong consider themselves to be "khon mai" (new people) who no longer practice the old customs, and that many years ago "khon niyom kan yu du'an yen" (the consensus was that women should spend the post-partum month 'cool'.) I found evidence in both Nan and Mae Hong Son to suggest that a similar change is gradually taking place there, with some of the more 'modern' women using hot water bottles, or metal containers filled with heated charcoal, placed around the belly, instead of the fire.

> '...helps to make the womb dry (tham hai mot luk haeng). In the old days, it helped to stop women having too many babies, because the womb becomes dry and shrunken, so that children are not born too close together.'

Ui Ma, another traditional midwife, confirmed this idea:

> 'Lying by the fire spaces births. If you lie by the fire perhaps you will have a baby once in three years, but if you do not do so you will give birth every year.'

When asked why they had not followed this custom themselves, both midwives explained that there were alternative ways of 'drying the womb' used by women who did not 'lie by the fire'. Responses in the survey of traditional birth customs mentioned earlier indicated that these alternative practices had been extremely common among Ban Pong women in the past, and the majority of younger informants[1] affirm that these traditions are still generally adhered to. Such customs[2], which include the consumption of hot herbal brews, bathing in water boiled with a special leaf, the application of hot herbal poultices to the belly, and the taking of 'steam baths', observed during the first month after delivery, are all said to assist in the process of drying out the womb. This process, according to many of my elderly informants, 'tham hai luk hang kan mai thi', that is, it spaces births and prevents them from coming in quick succession.

In view of the fact that these practices are said to have been observed by the majority of post-partum women in the past, thus implying a widespread desire to space births, it is perhaps surprising that the two most common (and effective) 'traditional' methods of

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[1] Details of dietary restrictions and other practices observed by women who had given birth during my time in the field, were recorded to provide evidence of contemporary post-partum customs.

[2] For a detailed account of post-partum practices in Ban Pong see Mougne (1978).

birth control, prolonged post-partum abstinence and breast-feeding, practised by many societies throughout the world (see Nag, 1968), were not found in Ban Pong (see Chapter 2, pp.99 and 104).

A critical change in this rather casual attitude to fertility control among women in Ban Pong would seem to have occurred during the course of the 1950s, at a time when, as we have seen, fertility rates had reached an unprecedented peak (Chapter 2). According to a number of informants, the practice of induced abortion, previously resorted to only by unmarried pregnant women, or others in desperate circumstances, (see Chapter 2, p.106), began to increase suddenly at this time. Ui Ma, who had practised as a traditional midwife in Ban Pong since the 1930s, told me:

> 'In the old days, there was no traditional medicine to stop pregnancies, women just had to let their babies be born. bip tong[1], (squeezing the belly to cause an abortion), didn't exist in those days. It only started about 15-20 years ago. People tried taking hot medicines, but none of those would work; they'd say, "Try this - boil it and drink," but nothing would work. Only bip tong was effective.'

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[1] According to my informants, this method of abortion, usually performed by a traditional midwife, involves inserting a finger into the vagina of the pregnant woman and pushing upwards whilst pressing down with the fingers of the other hand on the surface of the belly. In this way the fetus is squeezed and eventually dislodged. Apart from the pain involved and the risk of haemorrhage or even death, women have to face the possibility of the method failing in its aim. Some women were said to have undergone several attempts before obtaining a successful abortion, while others had no choice but to proceed with an unwanted pregnancy. Such cases were frequently remarked upon when babies were born with physical deformities such as missing eyes, fingers, toes or deformed limbs, said by the villagers to have been caused by such interference with the fetus during the first months of pregnancy. A more reliable method of abortion used by village women was said to be a type of ya rɔn (hot medicine), a patent medicine available in powdered form from city pharmacies, under the guise of 'medicine to cure stomach ache during pregnancy', and taken mixed with hot alcohol. Often this medicine was taken by a woman at the same time as undergoing the bip tong procedure described above, to ensure its success. Some women claimed to have received abortifacient injections, administered by the local mɔ chit ('injection doctor'. See Chapter 3, p.133 footnote 2). One woman, aged 41, reported a total of 21 pregnancies, fifteen of which had been aborted. She described use of many different methods of abortion, the most effective of which were medicines sold by travelling Chinese drug salesmen. If a medicine was marked with the warning 'Not for use by pregnant women', she would try it, and on a number of occasions this resulted in a comparatively trouble-free abortion.

The problems of obtaining reliable information about the incidence of induced abortion were discussed earlier (Chapter 2, pp.105-106). It was noted however that the reported incidence of 'fetal losses' was exceptionally high among women aged between 40 and 59 in 1973 (Table 12, p.111), the majority of whom would have been in the middle to late stages of their reproductive lives during the 1950s.

Given the recent improvements in survival rates of liveborn infants at that time and the rapid growth of population in a context of diminishing resources (Chapter 7), it would seem feasible that some of these women would have recognised the need to resort to abortion (in the absence of any more acceptable methods) to control the size of their families.

Induced abortion is, however, a desperate and undesirable measure. Towards the end of the 1950s, mechanical methods of birth control (condoms, diaphragms and spermicides) could be obtained from a few private medical clinics and pharmacies in Chiengmai city. In 1963, the first IUDs (inter-uterine devices) became available at McCormick Hospital, followed two years later by the introduction of DMPA injections[1] and, in 1967, by the contraceptive pill. These methods were also available by this time from a number of private clinics in the city. Female sterilisations had been performed at McCormick Hospital since 1948. However, in accordance with the Thai Government's persistant pro-natalist policies (see Chapter 1, pp.59-65) these family planning activities were not advertised, and thus information on the availability of such services was limited within the rural population of the Province.

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[1] Depo-medroxyprogesterone acetate, given in a single dosage of 150mg., providing three months' protection from conception.

Nevertheless, before 1967 some women in Ban Pong had learned about modern methods of birth control and, at the time of Dr. McDaniel's first survey of the Village in 1967, 14 were using a method. Four of these women had been sterilised, six had started by using IUDs, three had used condoms, and one a diaphragm with spermicide. Some had subsequently changed to other methods, but all except one of the fourteen were still using a method by 1973. The demographic and economic characteristics of these women will be discussed in detail later. It is important to note here, however, that despite the total lack of advertising of birth control, and the distance of Ban Pong from Chiengmai city where services were available, these women had been sufficiently motivated to control their fertility, to overcome these barriers[1].

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[1] A similarly enthusiastic, and largely unexpected response, was found by the organisers of an early IUD programme at Chulalongkorn Hospital in Bangkok (see Chapter 1, p.63, footnote 1):

> 'One of the most remarkable aspects of the Chulalongkorn program was the response of the people during the first years in which family planning services were provided. In 1965, the year the clinic was opened, there were over 12,000 acceptors of services, the majority of whom came to the outpatient family planning clinic for the sole purpose of obtaining an IUD. During the first three years, women came from 66 of Thailand's 71 provinces. What makes this so remarkable is that the hospital did not develop any public information activities outside the hospital; there was no use of the radio, newspapers, or pamphlets, nor were there any field workers...The large number of acceptors, from so many provinces, came simply because they learned of the Chulalongkorn services from friends. Because of the government prohibition at that time against the public dissemination of information about family planning, the only way these women could have learned about the clinic was by word-of-mouth.' (Rosenfield et al, 1973:146)

5.2 The Introduction of Family Planning to Ban Pong

The small number of Ban Pong women were by no means the only people from rural areas who were prepared to travel to Chiengmai to seek family planning services in the early 1960s. The organisers of the Family Planning Programme at McCormick Hospital soon became aware that desire to control fertility effectively was not the prerogative of urban women. In 1966, Dr. E.B. McDaniel, Director of the Programme, decided to conduct a pilot project to assess the potential for mobile family planning services in the rural areas of Chiengmai Province. Ban Pong village was chosen for this project, as being:

> '...a more-or-less typical village of Northern Thailand, reasonably far away from any large town or city, and yet not so far away as to make frequent visits by the survey team impractical...Ban Pong was selected as being a village where people were moderately poor and in need of family planning services.'[1] (McDaniel, 1967)

Thus, between December 1966 and February 1967, a small survey team conducted a general census in each of the 382 households in the village, and a detailed 'K.A.P.'[2] study of the 258 eligible[3] women. At that time, no information about family planning was given to the villagers, in order to avoid influencing their responses[4]. The survey indicated that there was indeed a widespread desire amongst village women both for information about family planning, and for the provision of services. The overwhelming majority of women (96.5%)

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[1] The presence of a small Christian minority in Ban Pong (10 households out of 441 in March 1973) provided an entree to the community for the staff of this Mission Hospital.

[2] Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of family planning.

[3] See Chapter 2, p.102 footnote 2.

[4] This decision frequently evoked the somewhat irritated comment, "Why so many questions, why no help?" (McDaniel, 1967).

expressed their approval of family planning in principal, but only a small number could name a modern contraceptive method (10.1%) and, as mentioned earlier, only 14 women (5.4%) had ever actually used a method (ibid.).

As a result of the survey, Dr. McDaniel decided to conduct an educational programme about family planning in the Village. The programme, consisting of an illustrated lecture and 'question-and-answer' sessions over two consecutive evenings during March 1967, was attended by some 150 villagers, most of them women. The day after completion of the educational session, all eligible women in the Village were given the opportunity to start a method of contraception. After the first month, women from other villages in the area were also permitted to join the programme[1]. Two methods were available at the mobile clinic, the contraceptive pill, and the DMPA injectable, each at a cost of 5฿ a month (which in 1967 represented a little over half of a daily labourer's wage). Women were advised that IUD insertion and surgical sterilisation could be obtained at the hospital in Chiengmai.

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[1] Within the first two years of the Programme, women had come to Ban Pong from all villages in Inthakhin Sub-district, from Chǫ Lae and Ban Pao Sub-districts (Map 5 , p.76), and from Fang, Chieng Dao, San Sai and Phrao Districts (Map 4 , p.74) to seek contraceptive services. In recognition of the widespread demand for family planning in the rural areas, the mobile team began to set up new clinics, and by 1973 they regularly visited some 30 locations throughout the Province, at 2-3 monthly intervals. By July 1974, the Family Planning Department at McCormick Hospital had recorded 66,961 new acceptors of contraception since 1963, a figure representing as much as 30% of all eligible women in the Province during this period. This estimate is supported by the analysis of Pardthaisong, in which the adjusted cumulative rate of new acceptors of the McCormick Family Planning Programme in 1975 is given as 39.3% of ever-married women aged 15-44 in Chiengmai Province (1978:33, Table 18).

Since commencement of the programme, the mobile family planning team, including a Northern Thai doctor and several nurses, have visited Ban Pong once a month. In a follow-up survey, conducted in Ban Pong in March 1969 to assess the response to the Programme, it was found that within two years the proportion of eligible women using a method of contraception had increased from 5.4% to 37.1%. Furthermore, the proportion of children under 5 had declined from 15.6% of the population in 1967 to 10.7% in 1969, and the number of women pregnant at the time of the survey had fallen from 15.1% to 8.4% (McDaniel and Pardthaisong, 1973). Thus the positive response to family planning, evident in the preliminary survey in 1967, had been followed through in the acceptance of a contraceptive method by a significant proportion of Village women. Within two years this considerable degree of control of fertility had already begun to modify the age structure of the population.

5.3 Patterns of Contraceptive Practice in Ban Pong

In March 1973, I conducted a further survey of eligible women in Ban Pong, to investigate the patterns of contraceptive practice in the community during the six years since the beginning of the Family Planning Programme. In 1973 there were 278 eligible women, 170 of whom had used a method of contraception in the past (61%), 111 of them doing so currently (40%). Basic demographic characteristics of family planning users were analysed to see if they differed in any way from non-users. Breakdown according to age and parity are presented by category of contraceptive use in 1973 in Figures 10 and 11.

Figure 10: Contraceptive Practice by Age, 1973

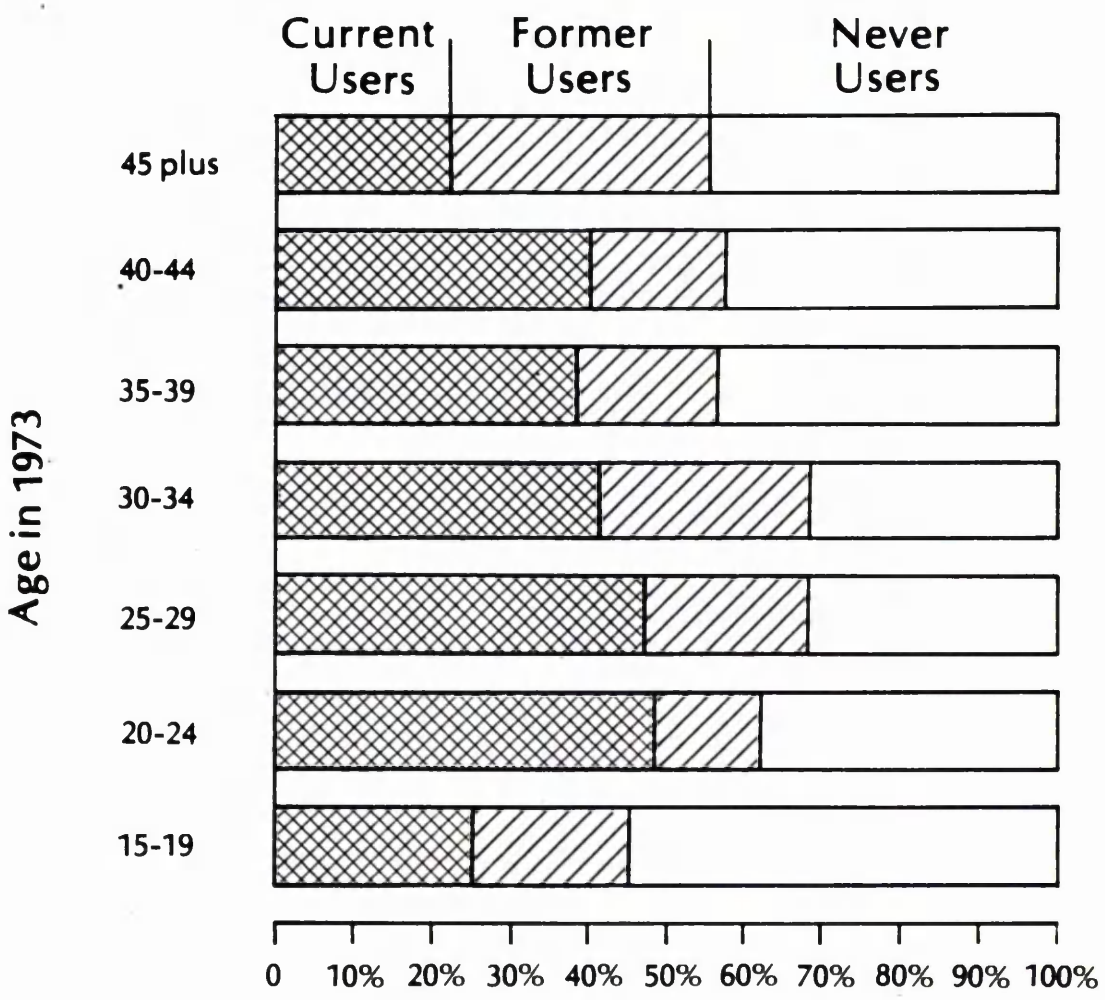
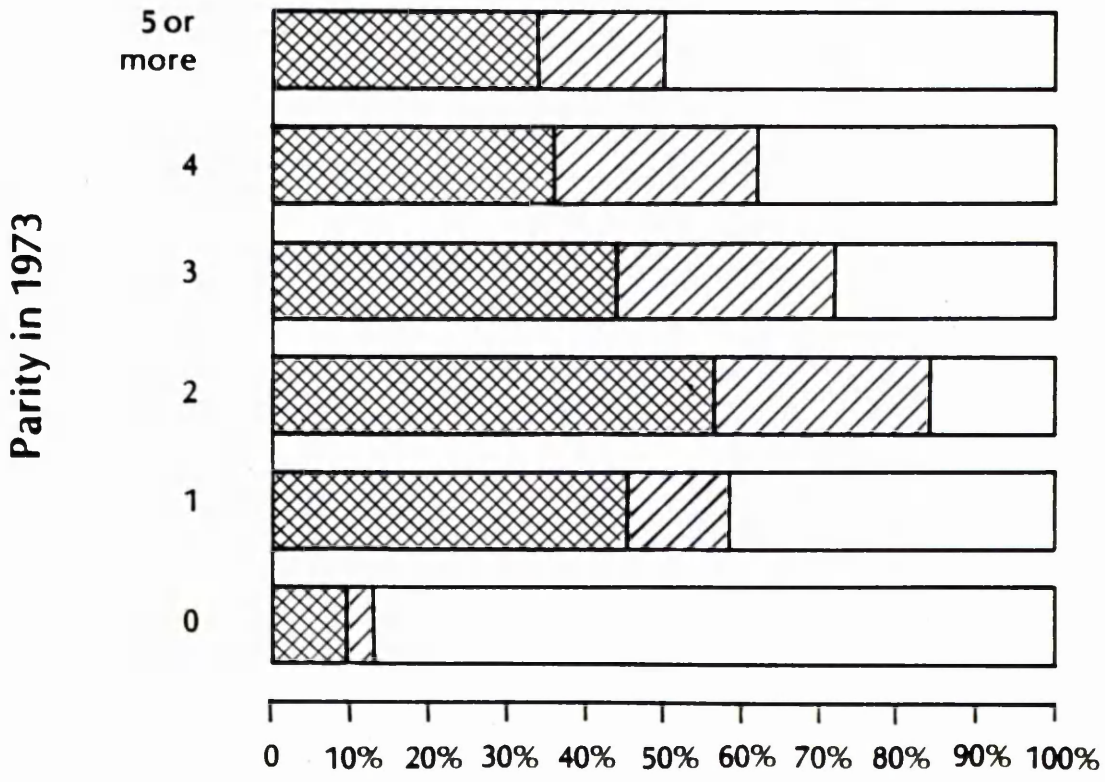


Figure 11: Contraceptive Practice by Parity, 1973



The age groups in which the largest proportion of women had used, and were currently using, a method of contraception were 25-29 and 30-34 in 1973. The youngest (under 20) and the oldest (45 and over) age groups had the least experience of birth control. Again, the largest incidence of past and current contraceptive practice was amongst women with between 1 and 3 living children in 1973. As one might expect, practice among women with no living children was extremely limited, as it was for those with large numbers of children, most of whom were older women approaching the menopause. The most popular method was the contraceptive pill, which had been used at some time prior to the 1973 survey by 87.6% of current and former users. Twenty-five percent of acceptors had used the injectable method, 10% the IUD, and 5% had been sterilised.

Of the 59 women who had discontinued use of contraception by 1973, only 11 (19%) stated that they had stopped in order to have a planned pregnancy. However, it was later established that a much larger number of women had had this intention when stopping their method of birth control (see p.229), although they had given a different reason when first asked[1]. Thirty-six women (61%) gave 'side effects'[2] as their major reason for stopping. Of the remainder, 6 said they felt they were too old to have further pregnancies, 2 had become pregnant involuntarily, 2 were temporarily separated from their husbands, and 2 said they did not have enough money to continue use. However, 31 of the women (53%) stated that they intended to use a method again at some time in the immediate future, and in fact, by March 1974, 20 of them had already done so.

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[1] Since the question was asked in the context of a survey about birth control, it is possible that these women were reluctant to admit to their desire for more children. Pardthaisong (1981) has also noted a considerable degree of under-reporting of discontinuation of contraception for planned pregnancy.

[2] Includes headaches, palpitations, nausea, irregularity, excess or absence of menstrual bleeding, weight change, appetite and mood change, and backache.

The reasons for non-use of contraception by women who had never used a method by 1973 were discussed earlier (Chapter 2, p.103). It was found that 48% of the 108 women involved were either sterile or sub-fertile, and a further 28% were newly-wed, currently pregnant, breastfeeding, or planning a pregnancy. Thus less than 25% of women who had never used family planning by 1973 could be described as being really 'in need' of contraception, that is, at risk of having a further unwanted pregnancy.

It is worthy of note here, that even in the case of women who had never used family planning, their attitude to contraception was generally positive. Although a few women expressed reluctance to use a method because of a fear of side effects, this was generally related to the fact that such women regarded themselves as sickly or unhealthy. It is perhaps surprising that the overwhelmingly negative attitude to family planning expressed by one of the traditional midwives in Ban Pong, Ui Ma[1], had apparently had little influence on the stance of younger women in this respect (with the notable exceptions of her own daughters and daughters-in-law). The following extract from an interview between Ui Ma and the anthropologist provides an interesting insight into her understanding of, and attitude towards modern contraceptive methods:

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[1] Nevertheless, when asked whether she would have used contraception herself if it had been available in her youth, Ui Ma (gesturing towards two of her six surviving children) replied emphatically, "Certainly I would have used it! I wouldn't have had this huge brood if I could have avoided it!" Ui Can, the other prominent midwife in Ban Pong at the time of my fieldwork, was very much in favour of family planning, in spite of the fact that only two of her twelve children had survived infancy. Although she emphasised the need to have at least one child to care for the parents in their old age, she elaborated at length on the severe restrictions which a large family can place on a woman's freedom of activity.

(Anthropologist) 'Do you approve of family planning, Ui?'

(Ui Ma) 'No I don't.'

(A) 'Can you tell my why not?'

(U) 'Because it makes women feel ill, and can be very dangerous. Some women take it and become nice and fat, but others get very thin. Many women have died as a result of taking the pill.'

(A) 'Is that true? Which women are these?'

(U) 'Well, maybe nobody died of it, but many became ill. Some get headaches, stomach aches, dizzy spells, swollen bellies, and others get hardly any periods at all because the blood has clotted in their bellies.'

(A) 'If the period doesn't come, what is wrong inside the belly?'

(U) 'You see, the blood gets stuck inside the womb, it doesn't all flow out, it flows just a little at a time and the belly begins to feel hard. Like a neighbour of mine whose period didn't come for 9 months, it made her belly swell into a big lump. So she came to see me so that I could examine her and see if I could help. If she had been pregnant it would have been time for her to give birth. But it wasn't that. So I massaged her belly and 3 or 4 days later she lost a lot of blood. She almost died, and was unconscious for quite a time. This was all because she had taken the pill, and her periods hadn't come for 9 months. She wasn't pregnant, but her womb was full of black menstrual blood.'

(A) 'What do you think about the IUD?'

(U) 'I've never seen one of those. Goodness knows how they put it in! One woman who lives near here had one put in, but later had it removed. She said that her husband had no desire, because when they made love he kept knocking against the coil!'

To return to the discussion of patterns of contraceptive practice in Ban Pong, it is often found that in the years following the introduction of a family planning programme, the proportion of young, low parity women among new acceptors, tends to increase. It would appear therefore that there is a gradual change from family limitation by older, high parity women in the early years of a programme, to birth spacing in later years (Pardthaisong, 1974:6-11). In order to test this hypothesis, the age at first use of contraception of women in Ban Pong, was analysed by the year in which they had joined the Programme (Table 37).

Table 37

Contraceptive Acceptors, by Year, and Age, at First Use, Ban Pong

Year of First Use	No. Eligible Women	No. Acceptors	Age at First Use (%new acceptors in Each Year) 15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	Cum. Elig. Women	Cum. Acceptors	Cum. % Acceptors
Pre-1967	n/a	14	-	21.4%	50.0%	21.4%	7.2%	-	n/a	14	n/a
1967-68	278	66	1.6%	13.6	24.2	25.8	24.2	10.6	278	80	28.8%
1968-69	280	36	8.3	11.1	33.3	22.2	19.4	5.7	286	116	40.6
1969-70	281	21	4.8	19.0	28.6	19.0	28.6	-	295	137	46.4
1970-71	283	10	10.0	30.0	-	10.0	10.0	40.0	310	147	47.4
1971-72	286	15	26.7	33.3	6.7	13.3	20.0	-	326	162	49.7
1972-73	278	19	31.6	42.1	5.3	5.3	5.3	10.4	338	181	53.5
1973-74	293	12	35.7	28.6	14.3	7.1	7.1	7.1	345	195	56.5
Mean for Whole Period			10.8	20.5	23.1	19.0	18.5	8.2			

During the first two years of the Ban Pong Family Planning Programme (1967-1969) the majority of acceptors were aged between 25 and 39 at the time of first use of contraception. By 1970, this pattern had begun to change. Since most women in the middle age groups were by then already using contraception, new acceptors after this time have tended to come increasingly from the younger age groups, so that since 1972 almost 70% of all new acceptors have been under 25, although for the entire period, only about 30% of women had begun contraception at these ages.

Table 37 also shows the speed with which the majority of women had begun to use family planning. Within just one year of the beginning of the programme, 66 women were using a method, and after two years a further 36. In fact, since 1969, the number of new acceptors has been comparatively small, comprising mostly, as has been noted, young women either recently married and wishing to postpone a first pregnancy, or with one or two young children, and wishing to delay the next pregnancy.

Pardthaisong (1974:8) has noted a strong association between parity and age. Indeed, the data for Ban Pong on the number of living children of women accepting family planning for the first time, show a very similar pattern to that found for age in Table 37. Women who had accepted family planning in the first two years of the Programme were of higher parity than those commencing use in later years. In 1967 and 1968, less than 15% of new acceptors had fewer than two living children, and about 40% had 4 or more. After 1971 this pattern was reversed, with 40-50% of new acceptors having less than 2 living children, and under 15% with 4 or more. The implication of these changing patterns in terms of both the declining age and parity of new acceptors over time, is that the demographic impact of the programme will become increasingly significant, since the fertility of acceptors is being controlled earlier in their reproductive lives (see Chapter 2, Table 13, p.113).

However, the rate of contraceptive acceptance among women in any community is of little value without supportive data on continuation rates, that is, the time for which acceptors continue to use a method of contraception. In all, 195 women in Ban Pong had used family planning by 1973 (this includes 25 women who were no longer eligible in 1973, having reached the menopause, or been divorced or widowed in the interim). Of these 195 women, 77.4% had used a method for at least one year, 63.6% for two years, 45.6% for three years, 40.5% for four years, 34.9% for five, and 25.6% for six years or more[1]. It should be noted here that the downward trend of these figures does not simply indicate the decline in usage over time, since not all women had started a method at the same time. In fact, of the 66 women who had accepted family planning in 1967, the first year of the Programme, an astonishing 58% were still using a method after 6 years. It is interesting to note that continuation rates varied according to the year in which a woman had first used contraception. Continuation rates are much higher for each single year of use for women who had started family planning between 1967 and 1969, than for those who had started more recently. In view of the fact, already discussed, that women accepting family planning in recent years have tended to be younger and of lower parity than earlier acceptors, this would seem to support the findings of Pardthaisong (1974:42-50). In his study of the use of DMPA in Chiengmai Province, he found that younger, low parity women are more likely to use family planning to space births, and thus use a method for a shorter period of time, than older, high parity women wishing to have no further pregnancies. Continuation rates for contraceptive users in Ban Pong were analysed by age and parity at first use, to test these findings (Tables 38 and 39).

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[1] Pardthaisong, McDaniel and Gray (1975) report similarly high continuation rates for women using the injectable contraceptive in Chiengmai; 73, 56 and 46 percent after one, two and three years, respectively.

Table 38

Cumulative Continuation Rates by Age at First Use of Contraception
(% by age group)

Time Used	Age at First Use					
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44
No. at Start	21	40	45	37	36	16
1 year	52.4%	72.5%	89.0%	83.8%	77.8%	75.0%
2 years	28.6	52.5	75.6	73.0	69.4	68.7
3 years	4.8	35.0	62.2	59.5	47.2	43.7
4 years	4.8	27.5	62.2	59.5	38.9	18.7
5 years	4.8	25.0	55.6	51.3	30.6	12.5
6 years	4.8	22.5	42.2	29.7	25.0	6.2

Table 39

Cumulative Continuation Rates by Parity at First Use of Contraception
(% by parity category)

Time Used	Parity at First Use		
	0-1	2-3	4 or more
No. at Start	52	84	59
1 year	57.7%	77.4%	72.9%
2 years	26.9	59.5	59.3
3 years	15.3	52.4	50.8
4 years	13.4	51.2	44.1
5 years	11.5	42.8	35.6
6 years	11.5	32.1	25.4

Viewed together, Tables 38 and 39 show clearly that the pattern of continuation rates among contraceptive users in Ban Pong has followed closely the trend observed by Pardthaisong. Young women under 25 (particularly those under 20) at first use of family planning, and those with less than two living children, tended to discontinue use within the first two years of acceptance. Continuation rates have been highest among women in their late 20s and early 30s, and with 2-3 living children at the time of starting family planning, with well over 50% of these women continuing to use a method for at least 4 years. The pattern for older women, 35 and over, and for those with four or more living children at first use of contraception, showed a different pattern, with continuation rates falling quite rapidly after 2-3 years of use[1].

Since the beginning of the Family Planning Programme in 1967, 84 women who had used a method had discontinued use at some time prior to 1973. Twenty-five of these women had discontinued contraception because they had been divorced, widowed, or had reached the menopause in the interim. Reasons given for discontinuing contraception by the remaining 59 women who were still eligible at the time of the 1973 survey, were discussed earlier (p.221). Although only 11 women had reported that they had stopped in order to become pregnant, 40 of the 59 women (68%) had experienced a further pregnancy by the time of the survey. The eleven women who had planned their pregnancies were all young and recently married, with only one or no living children at the time of discontinuing

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[1] Many of these older women, when asked why they had discontinued family planning before reaching the menopause, replied that they simply felt that they were 'too old' to become pregnant again. It was not possible to determine whether or not this implied the intention to curtail sexual activity, or whether it was simply a heartfelt, if naive, belief. In view of the number of pregnancies among these older family planning 'drop-outs', it would seem that the latter explanation is the more likely.

contraception. A further two women had become pregnant accidentally whilst still using a method. Of the remaining 27 women, 6 reported later that they had in fact wanted another child of a particular sex in order to 'balance' their families[1], and one woman wanted to 'replace' her youngest child which had recently died. A further 15 women were aged 35 or more, and had 3 or more living children at the time of discontinuing contraception, and all said later that they had thought themselves 'too old' to have a further pregnancy.

In conclusion, it may be said that contraceptive users in Ban Pong fall into three clearly defined categories: the young, recently married, low parity women, using family planning for a short period either to postpone a first pregnancy or to space subsequent births; the middle age group women, in their mid 20s to early 30s, some of whom already had 2 or 3 children at the time the Programme began, who are using family planning as a long-term measure to control their fertility and to prevent further births; and older women aged 35 and over, who had already borne a large number of children by 1967, who have used family planning somewhat less determinedly, tending to discontinue its use after 2-3 years in the sometimes mistaken belief that they were too old to bear any more children.

5.4 Economic Characteristics of Family Planning Users

Studies of family planning acceptance in Thailand have tended to emphasise the importance of urban dwelling and high education as being significant factors in the use of contraception (for example, see Knodel and Pitaktepsombati 1973, and Knodel and Debavalya, 1978). Pardthaisong, however, in his study of contraceptive acceptors in Chiengmai Province in the early 1970s, found that the majority were wives of agricultural workers, with only primary school education (1974:20-21).

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[1] There was no evidence to suggest a preference for sons, but simply a common desire to have at least one child of each sex.

Prasithrathsin (1973), in an analysis using data collected in 1969 for a sample of the rural population in all regions of Thailand, as part of the Longitudinal Survey of the Institute of Population Studies at Chulalongkhorn University, investigated economic differentials in relation to contraceptive practice among the rural population. His findings are of considerable interest. First he determined that among land-owning households there was no significant variation in rates of contraceptive practice according to the area of land owned. Second, and more surprisingly, he found that practice of family planning by women in landless households (20.7%) was higher than for those in landowning households who rented additional land (15.7%) and almost three times as high as for those women from households which only cultivated their own land (7.6%).

Patterns of land-ownership in Ban Pong are discussed in detail later (see Chapter 7), but the broad features may be outlined here. As a result of a land-tenure survey conducted in the Village in 1974, it was found that almost 70% of households were landless, and that 70% of landowning households had less than 10 rai. Amongst the majority of landless households, about 10% were dependent on non-agricultural activities including teaching, trading and civil service work[1]. Thirty-one percent were tenant farmers, renting irrigated land on a regular basis. The remaining landless households, representing almost 40% of all households in the community, were entirely dependent on wage labour for their livelihood.

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[1] Eligible women from these households are included in the 'other' category in Tables 40 and 41. A further 12 landless households (2.6% of 460) in Ban Pong included only elderly men or women dependent on the support of their children living nearby.

In Table 40 below, patterns of acceptance of family planning among Ban Pong women are analysed according to five broad economic categories. Acceptance rates are given for two periods: the first, in which all women eligible in 1967 are included, covers the period 1967-1969 which, as we have seen, were the years in which the majority of village women had commenced contraception. The second period is for the years up to 1973 and includes only those women who were eligible at the time of the 1973 survey. The first period is presented in order to provide an indication of the economic factors involved in the cases of women motivated to use family planning during the first three years of the programme, while the second is intended to show how these early patterns have evolved in recent years.

Table 40

Acceptance of Family Planning by Economic Category: Women Eligible in 1967 and 1973
(% by economic category)

Economic Category	Accepted Between 1967-1969	Accepted by 1973
Landless Labourers	23.9%	42.3%
Landless Tenants	61.5	72.4
Landowners Less than 10 rai	54.4	68.3
Landowners 10 rai or more	57.9	73.7
Other	60.0	65.0
All Eligible Women	46.9%	61.1%

The most striking feature of Table 40 is the difference between acceptance rates among landless labourers and those of landless tenants. By analysing the landless as a single category, Prasithrathsin has overlooked this significant variation. Although the proportion of women from landless labouring households who had accepted family planning by 1973 had increased at a much greater rate than for any of the other categories, it remained significantly lower than for either landowning or tenant households[1].

However, when women eligible in 1967 and 1973 were analysed according to age and economic category[2], it was found that landless labourers included a much higher proportion of young women under 25, and older women, over 40, than any of the other groups. In view of the fact, noted earlier, that rates of acceptance were lower among the younger and older women, the data have been re-analysed, including only those women between the ages of 25 and 39 who were eligible in 1967 and in 1973. The results are presented in Table 41 below.

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[1] Variations in rates of acceptance of contraception for both periods, between all economic categories, and particularly between landless labourers versus the other four categories combined, by Chi^2 test, were significant beyond the 99% level. However, no significant differences were detected when labourers and tenants were combined and compared with the landowning and 'other' categories.

[2] Analysis not included here.

Table 41

Acceptance of Family Planning by Economic Category: Women Aged 25-39 Eligible in 1967 and 1973
(% by economic category)

Economic Category	Accepted Between 1967-1969	Accepted by 1973
Landless Labourers	28.3%	45.4%
Landless Tenants	74.1	74.0
Landowners Less than 10 rai	67.4	80.0
Landowners 10 rai or more	58.8	100.0[1]
Other	60.0	75.0
All eligible women	57.6%	68.3%

Comparison of Tables 40 and 41 indicates that even when variations in age distribution of women in different economic categories are taken into account, the significantly low rates of acceptance among landless labourers show little change[2]. Although in the early years of the programme women from tenant households appear to have been more strongly motivated to use family planning than those from both categories of landowning households, by 1973 this difference had all but disappeared.

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[1] This category includes only 9 women, all of whom had used contraception by 1973. The comparatively low proportion of acceptors among women from households owning 10 rai or more, who were eligible in 1967, is largely due to the small numbers involved (N=17). Of the 7 women in this group who had not accepted family planning between 1967-1969, 2 were widowed by 1970 and three had not been pregnant for at least 5 years.

[2] Significance levels for the variations in rates of acceptance shown in Table 41 follow a similar pattern to those found for women of all ages in Table 40 (see footnote 1, p.232).

I would suggest therefore that the Ban Pong data provide a very different picture of the relationship between economic status and the acceptance of family planning than that presented by Prasithrathsin. By failing to differentiate between the landless labourer and the landless tenant who, as we have seen in the case of Ban Pong, exhibit vastly different patterns of acceptance, his combined data for a single category of 'landless' has led him to draw the erroneous conclusion that:

> 'The landless group practised birth control to a greater degree than those who partly owned and partly rented the land possibly because some of them and their husbands were hired hands and their adoption of birth control was necessitated by required mobility of the kind of work they were engaged in.' (ibid.:106)

I would suggest instead that the consistently low levels of contraceptive acceptance amongst women from landless labouring households in Ban Pong, even for those women in the age groups normally most highly motivated to control their fertility, reflect the phenomenon, observed in many parts of the world, that for the most impoverished members of society, children provide the only means by which a family can hope to improve its economic standing, as well as being a vital source of support for parents in their old age (see Mamdani, 1972, and van Renselaar, 1974). For the landless tenant, the hope of improving one's economic position by hard work, careful housekeeping, and minimising financial outlay by limiting family size, can become a reality. Thus, as we shall see later (Chapter 7, p.315), in a small number of cases tenant households have been able to save enough money in recent years to purchase small land holdings. Similarly, households owning small plots of land can strive to increase their holdings. In such cases, family planning is an extremely important factor in realising these ambitions. For the landless labourer on the other hand,

whose chances of obtaining a tenancy, given the severe competition for rented land in the Village, or of buying land, given the escalation of land prices in recent years, are negligible, the only hope for economic improvement is through his children[1].

The low levels of acceptance of family planning among women from landless labouring households serve to accentuate further the extremely high rates found for women in all other economic categories, rates which were so high as to push the acceptance rate for all women in the village, including those from labouring households, to above 60% by 1973.

I would now like to turn my attention to two groups of women who had exhibited exceptionally high motivation to control their fertility. The first group includes women who had already used a method of contraception prior to the introduction of the Family Planning Programme in 1967, and the second, those women who had been surgically sterilised by March 1974. Since the two groups overlap in a number of cases, I will examine these 25 women together. Fifteen of the women (58%) were from land-owning households, a much higher proportion than amongst the general population of eligible women in 1967 or 1973 (31% and 28.4% respectively, from landowning households). Furthermore, 6 of them were from particularly land-rich households (15 rai or more), and only two

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[1] There is evidence to suggest that this condition may only be temporary, since the proportion of women in the youngest age groups from labouring households, who had accepted family planning by 1973, was quite high (50% of married women aged less than 25). I would suggest therefore that the much lower rates of acceptance of family planning amongst older women from landless labouring households, may be a factor of the stage of family development reached at the time that contraception first became available in the Village. Thus, in the words of one informant, for the majority of women in such households, "By the time the family planning programme began, I had so many children that a few more didn't matter". For younger women, beginning their married lives as landless labourers since the beginning of the programme, the value of a large family might not be so evident.

had less than 5 rai. Of the eleven women from landless households, 5 were tenants, 2 traders, one a teacher and one a nurse, and only two were from landless labouring households[1].

Two case studies will serve to illustrate the importance of economic factors in motivation to control fertility by these women.

Case 1: Nang Thǫngbai Fǫngmun, House No.85[2]: Early Contraceptive User

In 1973, Nang Thǫngbai was 31 years old and had two daughters aged 10 and 4. She and her husband Puan live with her father, Phǫ Ta Suwan, and her younger sister, Kiangkham. Phǫ Ta is the owner of 11 rai irrigated holding, and in 1974 Nang Thǫngbai and her husband bought a 5 rai plot of their own for 20,000 baht. Phǫ Ta's holding is close to the irrigation canal so they are able to cultivate cash crops during the dry season, thus adding to the income of the household. A year after the birth of her first daughter in 1962, Thǫngbai began to take the contraceptive pill, purchased from a pharmacy in Chiengmai. She continued with the method until 1968 when she stopped in order to have her second child, born in 1969. Six months after the birth she resumed the pill, this time obtaining it from the mobile clinic in Ban Pong. By 1973 she was still taking the pill, but was considering sterilisation. Thǫngbai's attitude to family planning, which reflects that of many village women, is illustrated in the following extract from an interview between her and the anthropologist:

> (Anthropologist) 'Don't you want another child? Wouldn't you like to have a son?'
>
> (Thǫngbai) 'Certainly not! Two children are enough. Having children is so exhausting.'
>
> (A) 'What do you feel about the idea that some old people have, that family planning is a sin (bap) because it prevents souls from being reborn?'

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[1] It is particularly worthy of note in these latter two cases that the women involved were next-door neighbours of other women in this group of 25. The influence of residential propinquity on patterns of contraceptive practice is evident in Map 11. It may be noted that in a number of cases, family planning acceptors, non-acceptors, and even those who had discontinued contraception for reasons such as side-effects, tend to live in close proximity to others in the same category.

[2] For location of houses, see Village Map, Map 7, p. 122.

(T) 'It's got nothing to do with bap. It isn't bap, surely? I mean you aren't killing anything because there has not been a conception. No, family planning isn't bap. You get so tired having a lot of children. In the countryside these days it is so difficult to make a living. It's impossible to bring up a big family, you just can't do it. And this education business, they keep on increasing the grades[1] and if you have a lot of children you could never afford to send them all to school.'

(A) 'What does your husband say about family planning?'

(T) 'He agrees with me. Two children, that's enough.'

Case 2: Nang Buakaeo Phromrangsi, House No.73/2 : Sterilised in May 1973

In 1973, Nang Buakaeo was 30 years old and had two children, a son of 6 and a daughter of 3. She and her husband Khampan are tenant farmers renting 9 rai belonging to her parents. In addition, Buakaeo works as a trader, and has a small stall selling noodles and sweets in front of her house, while her husband is a carpenter and a representative on the Irrigation Committee[2]. Married in 1966, Buakaeo had her first child in the following year and soon after the delivery she began to take the pill. She continued with the pill for a year before stopping in order to have her second child, born early in 1970. Two months later she had her first contraceptive injection and continued with this method until early in 1973 when she heard about surgical sterilisation. The decision to have this operation appears to have been reached quite quickly, and in May that year it was performed. When asked about the decision to be sterilised, Buakaeo told me:

> 'It wasn't difficult because I knew sterilisation was good for me. My husband supported me. You see our family has very little to hand on, and if we had any more children there would be nothing to give them. We were both afraid that the children would not receive a proper education.'

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[1] During the course of the 1970s, the minimum number of years schooling increased from 4 to 5, and later to 7. For a discussion of the dramatic expansion of educational facilities in Thailand in the early 1970s, as one aspect of economic development stimulated by the American presence in Thailand since the 1950s, and the effect of this expansion on the educational aspirations of peasants throughout Thailand, see Anderson (1977).

[2] See Appendix 7.

5.5 Demographic Impact of Contraceptive Use in Ban Pong

The dramatic changes in fertility patterns which have occurred in Ban Pong since the beginning of the Family Planning Programme have been discussed in Chapter 2. Age-specific fertility rates had declined substantially for all women between the ages of 30 and 49 (in 1973) and showed signs of a reduction among women under 30 (Table 13, p.113). The actual number of births in Ban Pong after 1967 had also declined rapidly (Table 15, p.116).

A further measure of the impact of a family planning programme is the open-birth interval, which is the interval, in months, between the last live birth reported by an informant and the date of the survey. In Table 42 the open birth interval for Ban Pong women in 1973 is compared with those for two other populations of Thai women.

Table 42

Mean Open Birth Interval by Age
(months since last livebirth)

Age Group	Ban Pong, 1973	Rural Thailand 1969[1]	Bangkok/ Thonburi, 1970[1]
15-19	17.3 months	6.1 months	11.9 months
20-24	17.2	14.1	17.9
25-29	42.7	23.2	21.1
30-34	64.8	28.3	42.6
35-39	74.2	35.2	74.9
40-44	95.1	49.4	95.0
45 and over	110.0	n/a	n/a
Mean for all ages	68.0	31.2	53.2

[1] Reported by Knodel and Prachuabmoh (1974).

Although the data for Ban Pong are more recent than for the other two populations, and thus its population likely to have been exposed for a longer period of time to the influence of a family planning programme, it is striking nevertheless to note that the open birth interval for women in ages of normally high fertility (25-29 and 30-34) is considerably longer for Ban Pong women even than for those in Bangkok-Thonburi. Comparison with the data for other rural Thai women is, as already noted, limited by the fact that the survey had been conducted in 1969, before family planning services had become generally available in the rural areas. However, data provided by McDaniel, for the 1967 population of Ban Pong, permit some comparison to be made on a very broad level[1]. A rough calculation, using McDaniel's data, produces a mean open birth interval for Ban Pong women in 1966-67 of about 38 months, a slightly larger figure than that given by Knodel and Prachuabmoh for rural Thai women in 1969. It might be concluded therefore that prior to the introduction of the Family Planning Programme, fertility levels in Ban Pong did not differ greatly from those in other parts of rural Thailand (at least not in terms of the open birth interval). However, within six years of the beginning of the Programme, the mean interval for women in Ban Pong had almost doubled, exceeding a recent figure for Bangkok women by an average of about 15 months.

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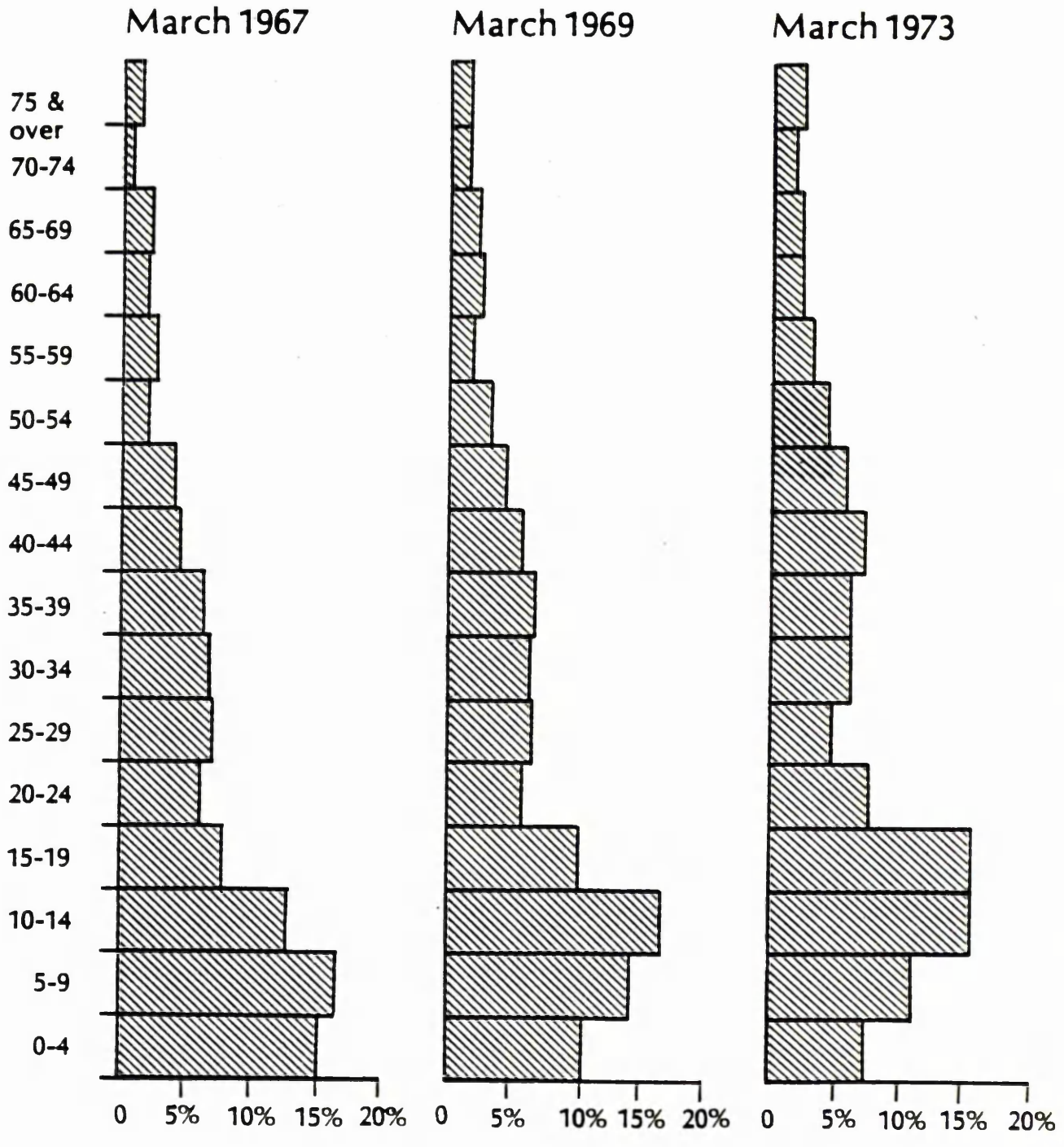
[1] McDaniel (1967) had presented the proportion of all eligible women by broad time categories since last birth (e.g. '33% under 1 year', etc.). Given the total number of women involved it was thus possible to calculate an approximate mean open birth interval.

Comparison of the open birth intervals for eligible women in Ban Pong in 1973 according to their contraceptive practice, confirms that the Programme has reached the large majority of women 'in need' of contraception. This is indicated by the surprising fact that the mean open birth interval for women using family planning in 1973 (71 months, or almost 6 years), was only one month longer than for women who had never used a method of birth control. This apparent paradox is explained by the fact that a high proportion of older, pre-menopausal and other sub-fertile women were in this group, and that their exceptionally long open birth intervals balanced out the short ones of the more recently parturient young women who had not yet started to practise family planning. Women who had discontinued contraception, on the other hand, had a much shorter mean interval (61 months), due to the fact that in some cases they had stopped using family planning in order to have a further pregnancy.

In conclusion, I would like to look at the way in which the practise of family planning by women in Ban Pong has influenced the age structure of the community in recent years. In Figure 12, the population pyramids for Ban Pong in 1967, 1969 and 1973 are compared. The rapid and substantial narrowing of the base of the pyramids over time represents a more than 50% reduction in the proportion of the population under the age of 5. Although, as can be seen from the 1967 pyramid, there were signs of a slight slowing down of the birth rate in the preceding few years, it is unlikely that the reduction occurring since 1967 would have been so great in the absence of the Family Planning Programme.

Figure 12: Population Pyramids, Ban Pong, 1967-1973



Sources: McDaniel (1967), McDaniel (1973)

SUMMARY

The success and the impact of the introduction of family planning to Ban Pong Village in 1967 have been dramatic. Not only has it substantially curtailed the hitherto high birth rates, but it has also provided the opportunity for many women to improve, or maintain the economic standing of their households by limiting the size of their families. However, the importance of this study would be severely limited were it to be unprecedented in terms of the whole of Thailand.

In a recent article entitled "Thailand's Reproductive Revolution", Knodel and Debavalya have written:

> 'Estimates of fertility from the 1970 census...suggest only a very moderate fertility decline during the 1960s; according to these estimates, the total fertility rate fell only four percent in the country as a whole and only two percent among rural women between 1960-64 and 1965-69. Analysis of birth histories from the World Fertility Survey, on the other hand, indicates that total fertility fell from 6.3 children per woman in 1965-69 to 4.9 children in 1970-74, a decline of 22 percent. Although there is some evidence that a sustained fertility decline had begun several years earlier in the neighbouring northern provinces of Chiang Mai and Lamphun, and perhaps even earlier than that in Bangkok-Thonburi and other urban areas, it seems safe to conclude that on a country-wide level, fertility decline in Thailand did not get under way until the end of the 1960s.' (1978:34. My emphasis)

Thus we find that although the fertility decline in Ban Pong is not typical of Thailand as a whole, it does follow a trend found in Chiengmai Province. This is confirmed by observations made by Potter in his analysis of the population of "Chiangmai" Village (Ku Daeng) in 1972:

> 'A dramatic decline in the number of children born in the village first became evident around 1969, when the birth control program in Chiangmai[1] had gotten well under way.

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[1] i.e. at McCormick Hospital.

> Forty-seven couples in Chiangmai practice some form of birth control...Most of the women who take birth control pills are young, between the ages of twenty and twenty-four; and most are from the poorer families in the village. Most of the couples who practise birth control do so because they are trying to buy land and build a house, and establish financial independence from the wife's parents. There is a long tradition in the village that young couples work during the early years of their marriage - the man in the fields and the woman selling in the market place - to establish themselves and to get ahead. The adoption of birth control fits neatly into this village pattern...
> ...The second group of couples practising birth control - a much smaller group than the first - are people in their mid-thirties who already have several children. These couples adopted birth control when it became available, to prevent any future births. Most women do not wish to have large families...The basic motivation for birth control is economic. The villagers love children, but they are well aware of the cost of raising them...The villagers are also conscious of the rising population pressure and the shortage of land. The people of Chiangmai village adopted birth control very readily.' (1976:28-29)

Potter presents a picture very similar to that found in Ban Pong, even to the extent of there being a minority of women from 'elite' households who had attempted to control their fertility before the introduction of modern contraceptive methods[1]:

> 'Villagers are well aware of the advantages of having only one or two children. Some of the landowning families in the village, even before modern means of birth control were available, deliberately limited by abstinence the number of children they had. They were well aware of the importance of land in establishing their social preeminance and did not want their estates liquidated when they died.' (ibid:53)

The significant part played by the provision of modern contraceptive methods in the rapid decline of fertility occurring throughout Chiengmai Province since the mid-to-late 1960s, is confirmed by Pardthaisong:

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[1] The government family planning programme which made contraception available from health centres in rural areas throughout Thailand, did not begin until 1970 (see Chapter 1, p.65).

> 'First, the acceleration of the decline in the total fertility rate began roughly in 1964, coincident with the development of the McCormick Programme. Second, older women had a greater reduction in fertility than younger women, a finding that is consistent with data from the family planning program showing that the older women accepted family planning first, followed by the younger women. Third, the decline in fertility occurred almost at the same time in the urban and rural areas. Here again, family planning acceptors show a similar pattern. Considering these findings, it seems reasonable to say that the rapid fertility decline in Chiang Mai...(Province)... was probably facilitated by the McCormick Family Planning Programme, which began to have large numbers of acceptors by the last half of the 1960s, and later by the government program. It does not seem justifiable however, to attribute the entire fertility decline to these programs, since the evidence suggests that fertility in Chiang Mai had started to decrease before the programs started as well as during the initial years when acceptance was still low.' (1978:32-34.. My emphasis)

In conclusion, I would argue that many social and economic factors are involved in the widespread positive response to family planning in Northern Thailand. On the evidence of my data for Ban Pong I would suggest the following as being amongst the more important factors involved. First, it would appear that the population has been predisposed to the concept of 'family planning' by the major overt function of many traditional post-partum customs, namely to space births. Second, in view of the severe crisis in the availability of land in recent decades coupled with the fact that many of the landpoor and landless tenant farmers are members of reciprocal labour groups (see Chapter 7), thus obviating the need for providing a large domestic labour force, motivation to limit family size is likely to be high. Third, in the case of landrich households, the desire to maintain a position of economic advantage has provided a considerable incentive to control fertility. As we have seen, in all but the landless labouring households, rates of

contraceptive acceptance have been exceptionally high. Fourth, although an analysis of the status of women is beyond the scope of this thesis, it must be stressed that in contrast to many other societies, Northern Thai women exhibit marked independence, notably with regard to their economic activity[1], and also with regard to the control of their fertility. Finally, although it is true to say that for many women in Ban Pong, the initial impetus to use contraception was as a direct result of the highly personalised and dedicated services provided by the McCormick family planning team, the continued high levels of practice in the Village, and the spread of birth control to all parts of the Province and to much of the rest of the Northern Region, must be attributed to the social and economic factors outlined above.

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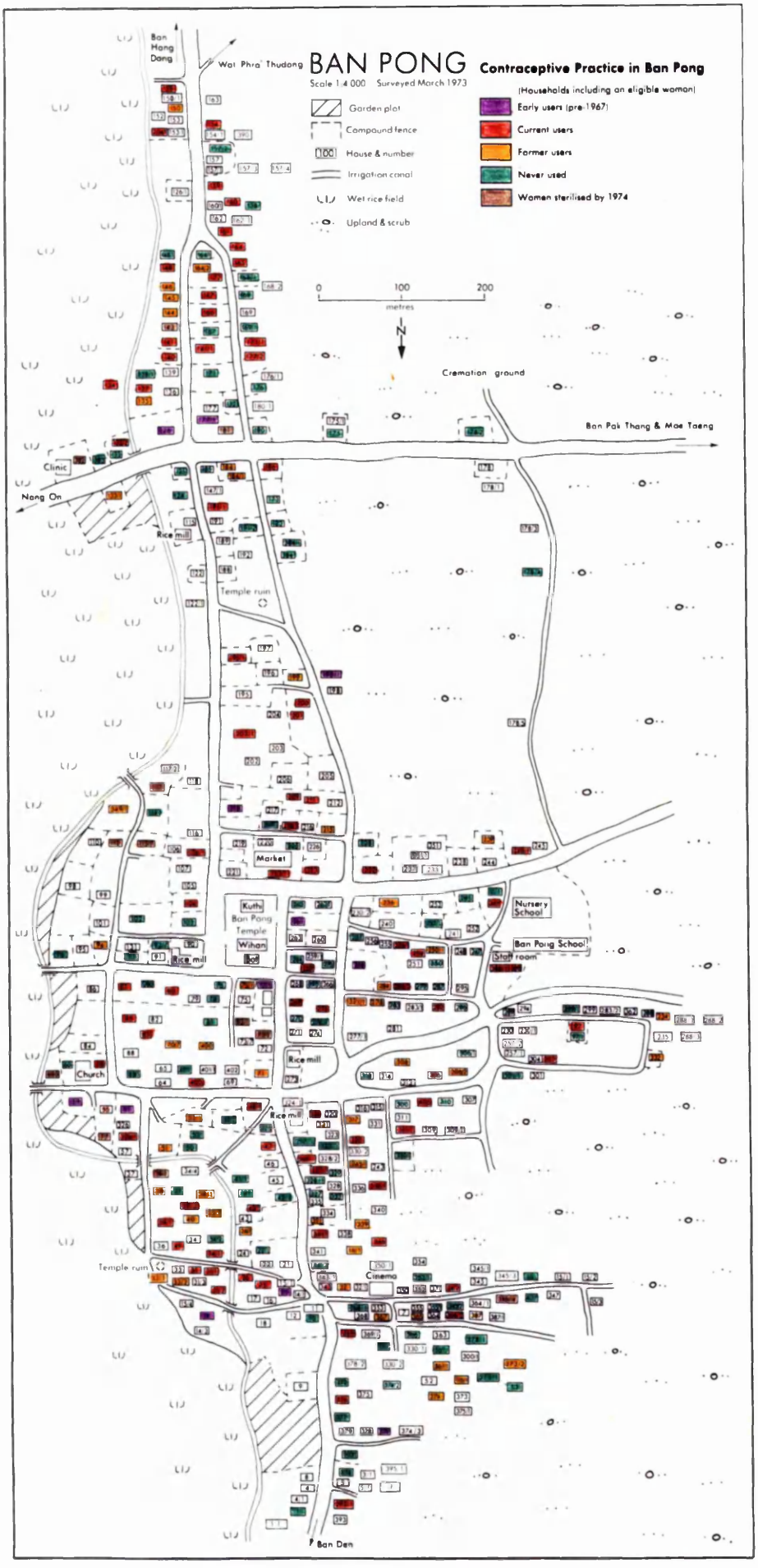
[1] See Mougne (1978)


BAN PONG
Scale 1:4 000 Surveyed March 1973
Contraceptive Practice in Ban Pong
(Households including an eligible woman)
Early users (pre-1967)
Current users
Former users
Never used
Women sterilised by 1974
Garden plot
Compound fence
House & number
Irrigation canal
Wet rice field
Upland & scrub
0
100
200
metres
N
Ban Hang Dong
Wat Phra Thudong
Cremation ground
Ban Pak Thang & Mae Taeng
Clinic
Nang On
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Market
Kuthi
Ban Pong
Temple
Wihan
Rice mill
Nursery School
Ban Pong School
Staff room
Rice mill
Church
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Cinema
Ban Den

MAP 11

Contraceptive Practice in Ban Pong

CHAPTER 6

AN ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THAILAND FROM A DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

PLATE 6: A group of tenant farmers pause for a moment during transplanting of the rice seedlings (July 1973)

6. Introduction

I interrupt the discussion on changes in Ban Pong at this stage, to look at patterns of economic development in Thailand as a whole, and the Northern Region in particular. The following account is intended as a framework for the analysis of economic change at village level, to be discussed in Chapter 7. Although by no means an exhaustive study of Thailand's economic history since the middle of the nineteenth century, the material is presented from a demographic perspective, to emphasise the critical importance of changing population size in relation to resources, during this period.

6.1 The Foundations of Thailand's Rice Export Economy

Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, the majority of the rural population in most parts of Thailand was large self-sufficient, producing rice for home consumption, catching fish or hunting game, growing and gathering fruit and vegetables to supplement the diet. Most villagers would have engaged in a limited amount of trade, exchanging a part of their surplus rice in good years, or other domestic products for salt, traditional medicines, and other items not produced locally[1]. Some villages specialised in the manufacture of paticular goods such as the silver ware, decorated umbrellas and parasols, ornately-carved teak objects, and high quality silk, still produced in villages close to Chiengmai[2]. Although in certain areas there had already been some commercial development, notably sugar-cane production in the Central Plains (see Donner, 1978:97), and the timber industry in the far North, this had affected only a small section of the population.

The changes which were to influence substantially the livelihood of a significant proportion of the rural population in Thailand from the middle of the last century, have their roots in Europe where, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the consumption of rice as a cheap dietary staple and its use in various agricultural and industrial processes had led to a growing demand for the grain. Furthermore:

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[1] For a discussion of long distance trade in Northern Thailand in the last century, see Moerman (1975).

[2] These villages, once specialist producers for the region, are now mainly involved in the tourist trade.

> 'At the start of the nineteenth century..., new milling and processing techniques enabled European consumers to look abroad for their rice needs, and the Indian provinces of Bengal and Madras and portions of the southern United States became major sources of supply. Towards the middle of the century, the Indian Mutiny and the American Civil War disrupted the sources at a time when improvements in transportation were making it possible for European importers to purchase their rice in even more distant areas, primarily Southeast Asia... Beginning in the 1860s and running on through the depression of the 1930s, the foreign demand for Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese rice grew dramatically...'
> (Johnston, 1975:18-20. My emphasis)

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the demand for rice was further intensified as Asian countries such as Malaya, Ceylon and Indonesia, under the influence of Colonial powers, turned over more and more land and labour to the production of other cash crops such as coffee, rubber, tobacco and sugar, at the expense of production of rice, thus necessitating increased rice imports. As a result of these changes in neighbouring countries, rice exports from Thailand increased 25-fold between the 1850s and the 1930s, jumping from 5% of the total rice crop in 1850 to about 50% by 1900 (Ingram, 1971:37-41 and 52-54).

The conditions necessary for this radical change in Thailand's economic structure had been ensured by the Bowring Treaty, drawn up between Thailand and England in 1855. In accordance with the Treaty, King Mongkut introduced legal changes which removed a previous ban on rice exports, guaranteed foreign traders the right to trade without interference from governmental monopolies, and regulated import and export duties. Meanwhile, Thai subjects were encouraged to participate in, and to profit from foreign trade (Johnston, 1975: 21-22). An expansion of cultivation was encouraged by a number of tax concessions in relation

to newly cleared lands. Furthermore, the gradual abolition of the corvee labour system (see Chapter 1, pp.47-48), and of debt-bondmanship (see Turton, 1980a), meant that by the end of the nineteenth century a much greater proportion of the population was free to participate in independent economic activity. Thus the Thai government had responded to the foreign market demands by, on the one hand, loosening traditional restrictions from the bulk of its population and encouraging it to respond to the new economic opportunities, and on the other hand, in Johnston's words, facilitating the '...entrance and expression of the foreign demand for Thai goods, primarily rice.' (ibid:25).

During the first two decades following the Bowring Treaty, there was a slow and faltering transition period, as the population in the Central Plains adjusted to its new economic horizons. The hitherto booming sugar industry declined quite suddenly in the 1860s, as did other small-scale export productions. By the mid-1870s rice cultivation for export had become the major and overwhelming economic base in Central Thailand, and was to remain so for the following 80-90 years.

6.2 The Boom Years: 1870-1905

Perhaps one of the most important and far-reaching consequences of this radical change in the economic framework of a major section of Thailand's population was the emergence of land as a commodity with exchange value. Hitherto, although all land was nominally the property of the King, it was readily available for anyone who had sufficient labour to clear it. However, with the growing need to ensure the

production of a marketable rice surplus, it was not long before the more far-sighted entrepreneurs in Bangkok began a process of land speculation which led to spiralling land prices in the more accessible arable lands close to the capital[1]. In 1899, Prince Narathip, half-brother to King Chulalongkorn, wrote to the king:

> 'Of all the enterprises in which Thais of good position can at the present invest their money, it is difficult to find any as promising as trading in land, and of the various types of land none is as profitable as rentable rice land.' (Narathip to King, 18 Oct. 1899:1, quoted in Johnston, ibid:81).

In 1901, a permanent system of land measurement and registration along modern lines was introduced, in Central Thailand at first, and then gradually spreading throughout the Kingdom (see Kemp, 1981).

In these early years of Central Thailand's growing rice export economy, much of the expansion of production was initiated by wealthy landowners, buying up large expanses of hitherto unused land, generally on the fertile east bank of the Chao Phaya river. Most of the labour was provided by tenant farmers who, because of the conditions of their tenancies, had to bear the brunt of the vicissitudes of the international rice market. Thus, during this period, successful agriculture became a matter of co-operation between '...the capitalist with his land and the tenant farmer with his labor,' (Johnston, ibid:82). Meanwhile, in the rest of the country, where the growing market economy had not, as yet, completely penetrated, traditional patterns of small owner-cultivators persisted.

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[1] Land prices on the east bank of the Chao Phaya river rose from about 1 Baht per rai in 1880 to 22.7 Baht in 1899, to 36.5 Baht in 1904 (Johnston, 1975:121).

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, the evolution of the rice industry in Central Thailand was influenced by a number of factors. The major limiting factors at that time were labour and capital. Although prices of land close to Bangkok had increased enormously during this period, this was a result primarily of the boom atmosphere affecting only this area, rather than any widespread shortage of land. Land was still abundant, and its exploitation, as ever, depended on the ability to summon labour to work on it and capital to open it up. Traditional institutions which had evolved to provide adequate labour at peak times in the agricultural cycle, such as exchange labour within communities, were insufficient to meet the needs of a commercialised economy. Furthermore, just as the need for increased labour was growing, some of the traditional means of access to supplementary labour were disappearing, since the corvee system had been abolished by King Chulalongkorn. Furthermore, as the value of land increased, it became more common for land to be offered as security for a loan, rather than labour, as had formerly been the case.

As a consequence of these changes, the demand for wage labour in agriculture began to grow. Although wage labour had existed earlier in the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1890s that it was used on a wider scale (Johnston, ibid:225). Thus agricultural wages increased rapidly in the Central Region during this time, but demand still far exceeded the local supply. One solution was to employ migrant workers from the impoverished Northeastern Region[1].

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[1] There had long been a tradition of northeasterners trading in livestock in the Central Plains, so channels of communication were already in existence. In the 1890s these channels expanded to include the importing of wage labourers, usually hired on a contract basis for the season (Johnston, ibid:229-234).

Limitations of capital also hindered the greater expansion of rice cultivation at that time, which would have been possible given more and better irrigation schemes. Furthermore, an expansion of mechanisation, which would to some extent have made up for labour shortages, was not generally viable because of the high cost of imported fuels. Without cheaper and more reliable sources of fuel even many of the large-scale farmers lacked the capital necessary to attempt to expand and intensify production through mechanisation. In addition, there was little motivation to do so anyway because land-owners recognised that they could profit adequately from the existing, extensive method of cultivation[1] (Johnston, ibid:239-240). The significance of an economic framework in which land was an abundant resource and labour and capital both severely limited may be seen in the fact that:

> '...the only important technical innovation made by Thai farmers during this period was to abandon where possible the more intensive transplanting mode in favour of broadcasting.' (ibid:210).

As a consequence, farm plots were largest, and the mode of cultivation most extensive, in the most commercialised areas of production.

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[1] Until comparatively recently the dominant method of rice cultivation in the Central Plains was the broadcast method. Although yield per rai broadcast is considerably lower than with either the transplanting or swidden method, in a situation of plentiful land and limited labour and capital, broadcasting is undoubtedly economically the most appropriate method since, as Hanks has established:

> '... the ratios of output to input show that per unit of work more rice is raised by broadcasting than by other modes of cultivation. A day's work at broadcasting nets almost twice as much grain as a day's work at transplanting and nearly three times as much as by shifting cultivation.' (1972:64)

In the second half of the nineteenth century, as commercialised agriculture was becoming established in the Central Plains, the Northern Region, as noted earlier (Chapter 1, p.45), was still struggling to maintain its independence. Isolation, in terms of the lack of adequate means of transportation to the Central Region, as well as political instability, had effectively prevented the population of the Northern valleys from becoming involved in the rice boom. However, following the appointment of the first resident Commissioner to the North, in 1874, the economic autonomy of the region came to an end along with its political independence. This was a fairly gradual, if unavoidable process. Not surprisingly, these changes met with considerable opposition from the Northern princes, a fact which King Chulalongkorn had clearly anticipated. He tackled the problem in two ways: on the one hand he advised his Commissioner to use great tact and diplomacy in dealing with the princes, permitting small concessions to 'regional feelings', while on the other hand he devised means of gaining control over them by tying their hands financially. Meanwhile their prestige and power was being undermined by the abolition of their traditional rights to demand service from the people under the corvee system (Bunnag, 1977:144-145).

When even these comprehensive plans failed to quell the spirit of resistance in the north, the government found it necessary to bring in regular troops and invoke martial law. However, following the centralisation of the Northern Region's financial and judicial administration in 1909 and 1915, any further opposition was largely isolated and ineffective (ibid:160). Finally, as the northern railway reached Chiengmai in 1921, an important condition had been created for the more extensive exploitation of the economic potential of the Region.

6.3 The Recession: 1905-1912

Although the substantial and significant changes which occurred in the Central Thai economy during the second half of the nineteenth century had been effected with minimal changes in the use of labour and capital, the fact that these resources were severely limited meant that the expansion too was restricted. The fragility of the economic boom was made starkly apparent during the Recession of 1905-1912 (see Johnston, 1975:280-335). At a time when there had been a series of bad harvests, particularly in the areas of greatest commercialisation in the Central Plains, the government introduced substantial tax increases. Within a short period of time, this combination of circumstances turned '...profitable holdings into money-losing operations'. (ibid:298).

Furthermore, the gradual abolition of the corvee system was punctuated, in 1905, by a new reform which made all males subject to regular military recruitment, thus posing serious labour problems on households already burdened by increasing taxes, falling rice prices and poor yields[1]. The labour problem was exacerbated by the fact that in response to declining yields in the Central Plains which had affected both the demand and the profitability for wage labourers, northeastern migrant workers had begun to seek alternative employment, notably in railway construction, which was in process at the time. Furthermore, many tenant farmers found that the financial obligations facing them after a series of bad harvests were too great to bear and they abandoned their rented land. By 1912 the situation had deteriorated to such an

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[1] The decline in yields after the turn of the century was not merely a result of poor harvests during the years of the Recession, but represented the beginning of a long-term trend (see p.266, footnote 1, below).

an extent in parts of the east bank of the Chao Phaya (which had been one of the major development areas) that, according to one source, the fields were being '...encroached upon by the elephants again,' (ibid.: 312). The severe hardship experienced by Thai peasants during the Recession is well documented, and but for the bumper harvest of 1913, which heralded the end of this difficult period, it is likely that there would have been a major famine in many parts of the countryside.

6.4 Commercial Penetration of the Outer Provinces

Although technically the Recession ended in 1912, economic growth in Thailand was never again to attain the rates experienced in the final decades of the nineteenth century. While the volume of Thailand's rice exports had increased fourfold during the thirty years from 1880 to 1910, they failed even to double during the thirty years between 1905 to 1935. Johnston suggests two alternative explanations for the failure of the Thai economy to pick up speed again after the end of the Recession:

> 'It may be that, during the earlier period, there had existed a surplus of under-utilized capital and labor which had supported the rapid growth. But, once this surplus was consumed in the early years of East Bank development, indigenous sources of capital and labor were inadequate to fuel continued rapid expansion in other areas. Alternatively, it may have been not that capital and labor were exhausted but rather that, after the recession, those who controlled them were no longer willing to risk investing them in agriculture. In either case, the shortage of capital and labor resulted in a decreased rate of expansion of the rice economy after the crucial watershed of 1905-1912.' (ibid.:329).

According to official Census figures, the population of Thailand living outside the Central Plains had doubled between 1911 and 1947, while the area under rice had increased about six times between 1903-07 and 1948-50. As Ingram has noted:

> '...even after allowing for substantial errors in both figures, it would appear that a surplus of rice must have been produced in the outer provinces.' (1971:45).

In the earlier phase of Thailand's agricultural expansion, as we have seen, areas outside the Central Plains had been largely excluded. A major inhibiting factor had been the lack of adequate means of transporting goods to the markets of Bangkok. Until the early part of the twentieth century, the only means of transport from the North and Northeastern Regions had been by river which was both slow and costly. As soon as this problem was removed by the extension of railways to the outer provinces, many up-country farmers responded quickly to the new market opportunities.

For example, the railway had reached beyond Uttaradit (260 miles due north of Bangkok) by the 1920s. By 1925 shipments of rice coming from areas north of Uttaradit, had reached 650,000 piculs, and had doubled to 1,300,000 by 1935. Another indication of the rapid adjustment by Northern farmers to commercialisation, was the spread of rice mills in the Region. According to Ingram (ibid:45-46), virtually all grain shipped from north of Uttaradit in 1925 was unmilled, but within ten years about 35% was milled rice. A particularly significant sign of the adaptive response of farmers in the North to new economic incentives, was the rapid increase in the production of non-glutinous rice for market, in an area where production had hitherto been exclusively of glutinous rice[1]. It would seem that the financial rewards offered by trade with markets made accessible by the availability of rail transportation provided sufficient incentive to provoke this notable break with traditional agricultural practice in certain parts of the North.

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[1] See Chapter 7, Section 7.10.

Zimmerman, in his Rural Economic Survey of 1930-31, referring to Northern Thailand, has commented:

> 'Around the larger towns where communication is good, such as Chiengmai, the farmers grow about 30% of non-glutinous rice for sale to the people in town. When the price of padi is high they send some of this by trains to Bangkok. In places where communication is poor or more expensive, only an insignificant (about 5) per cent of non-glutinous rice is grown. This is used for cakes or sweetmeats by the Northern people.' (1931:141).

This contrasts sharply with conditions in the Central Plains at that time where, according to Zimmerman's estimate, about 60% of the harvest was produced for the market (ibid:19).

In the years following the Recession, the rice economy in Thailand experienced considerable fluctuations, some due to local climatic conditions and others relating to changes in the international market. Nevertheless, throughout the 1910s and 1920s both the area under production and rice exports continued to grow, though at a considerably slower rate than in the final decades of the nineteenth century. While shortages of labour and capital continued to impede more rapid expansion, a further limiting factor which emerged at this time, was the beginning of a decline in rice yields. Although between 1905-09 and 1925-29, the area planted in paddy had almost doubled (an average of about 3.5% increase each year, Suvaphorn, 1975:95-96), according to official statistics there was a drop in the average yield per rai from 300 kilograms in 1900 to 276 kilograms in 1925-29, which reduced the overall annual rate of increase in production to only 2.5%.

Ingram has attributed this decline in yields to the fact that the process of extension of production in the absence of technological improvements has resulted in poor land, or poorly-watered land, being brought under cultivation (1971:48). Similarly, Suvaphorn has noted an inverse relationship between output per rai and the size of holding (1975:99). Suvaphorn has also proposed another inverse correlation, between labour input and the size of holding (ibid.:142). If by extension yields may be correlated with labour input, it would appear that their decline in Thailand, at a time when agriculture was going through an extensive phase without the benefit of improved technology or increased input of labour, was inevitable. Conversely, as we shall see later (p.276), as population pressure on land in the 1950s onwards led to a reduction in holding size for a large sector of the population, with a concomitant intensification of production (as well as improvements in irrigation and flood control), yields began to increase.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the decline in yields at that time was by no means a feature of all parts of Thailand. The region most severely affected was the Northeast, where, despite massive increases in cultivated areas between the early 1920s and the late 1940s, output had increased only minimally. Although the Central Plains did not suffer as great a decline in yields as the Northeast, the rate of increase in output was considerably reduced. Only the Northern Region escaped this problem. According to Ingram, yields had not declined in the North for a number of reasons including the more gradual expansion of the area under cultivation, more generally fertile soils, and the extensive use of small scale co-operative irrigation schemes[1] (1971:50).

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[1] See Appendix 7.

6.5 The Depression and the Second World War

The impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s was felt acutely in those less developed countries such as Thailand, whose economies had developed on the basis of a dependence on exports. If Thailand's rice economy had started to show signs of recovery after the devastating effects of the Recession, the Depression, closely followed by the Second World War, '...signalled the close of an era in the region's economic history' (Johnston, 1975:384). Although international demand for rice, and hence rice prices within producing countries, had shown considerable fluctuations in the late 1920s, after 1930 prices began to fall drastically, reaching a lowest point in 1934. Surprisingly, the volume of rice exports from Thailand was maintained throughout the period of the Depression, primarily as a result of considerable self-sacrifice, hard toil and versatility on the part of the peasantry.

Rural incomes had fallen severely, and there was a rapid return to self-sufficiency in the villages, with a resumption of traditional crafts such as weaving and basket making, as a means to avoid unnecessary capital outlay. A wide variety of non-rice food crops were cultivated to provide for subsistence needs, and the demand for wage labour in the non-agricultural sector began to grow. The fact that this considerable move towards economic diversification was occurring at the same time as former levels of rice production for export were being maintained is, as noted above, indicative of an intensification of productive endeavour (Johnston, ibid.:411-412).

It is interesting to note here that despite the recognition by farmers in the Central Plains of the need to increase productivity during the 1930s, their response was first to continue to extend the area under production, though at a much slower annual rate than hitherto (Suvaphorn, 1975:96), and secondly, to diversify economic activity. The option to intensify production, by converting to the transplanting method, was not taken up, except in a few isolated cases[1]. The reasons for this were, as in earlier decades, continuing shortages of labour and capital. In addition, the persistence of extensive methods at this time is indicative of the fact that land in this region was still plentiful.

Nonetheless, during the 1930s the first indications of a changing balance between land resources and labour were beginning to emerge. The population of the Central Region had been growing steadily and, as Johnston has noted:

> '...population increases had resulted in substantial fragmentation of farm plots in some areas...It may be then, that the long-standing abundance of land in proportion to population was beginning to diminish by 1930, but, if so, the change was being felt only in certain areas...We have, then, through the 1930s, only the initial indication of a changing balance between land and labor, and it is therefore not surprising that these decades record a persistently extensive agricultural technique.' (1975:389-390. My emphasis)

Following the outbreak of the Second World War, the disruption of international trade resulted in a severe drop in rice exports from Thailand. The proportion of rice exported fell dramatically and, in

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[1] Hanks reports that some villagers along the Saen Saep Canal did switch to the more intensive technique of transplanting during the Depression but, to the frustration of the agricultural officials, those in the Rangsit District continued to broadcast (1972:121-122).

contrast to the 1930s when domestic consumption was reduced to well below normal levels in order to maximise supplies for export and thus to compensate for low prices, during the 1940s the amount of rice retained in Thailand was well above that necessary to satisfy normal consumption needs. By 1945, therefore, an accumulation of stock was well established, despite a temporary halt in the expansion of land under cultivation (Ingram, 1971:52 and 54).

The cessation of hostilities in 1945 was followed by a resurgence of foreign demand for rice, and as a consequence the export price of rice increased. As a response to these changes, the acreage under rice in Thailand once again expanded substantially, increasing by about 47% (a mean of 8% annually) between 1945 and 1950. However, the downward trend in yield per unit of land, increasingly evident since the turn of the century, continued and was only halted in the 1960s when the average size of holdings began to decline (Suvaphorn, 1975:96. Also see p.276 below).

6.6 Turning Point: The Introduction of the Rice Premium

Economic disruption during the war years had resulted in severe inflation in Thailand, increasing domestic prices to about 1200% of the pre-war level (Ingram, 1971:40). At the same time, the exchange value of the baht vis-a-vis foreign currencies had fallen sharply. Thus despite considerable increases in the international price of rice in the immediate postwar period, the differential between these increases and those which had occurred in the domestic price of rice

in Thailand, was acute. Various attempts were made to redress the balance and produce a more equitable relationship, but none of the multiple exchange rate systems or export taxes introduced in the late 1940s and 1950s proved satisfactory (ibid:243).

In 1955, the multiple exchange rate system was abolished, and a unitary exchange rate adopted. Meanwhile the government established the Premium system, which required rice exporters to pay a specific tax for each ton of rice exported. Premium rates were fixed for the several different grades and types of rice. Since the rice Premium and export duty were both to be paid on rice that was exported, but not on rice sold and consumed domestically, the domestic price tended to differ from the world price by the amount of the Premium. The Premium therefore represented a heavy export levy. As Ingram has commented:

> 'Such a tax on the staple agricultural product of a country whose cultivation is the chief occupation of most of the people, inevitably has had important effects upon the economy' (ibid:248)

These effects may be summarised as follows: the depression of domestic rice prices in relation to a constant rice Premium has meant that not only is the burden of the Premium borne largely by the farmer, and fluctuations in export prices transmitted directly to the domestic wholesale price, but changes in domestic prices are proportionally larger than those in the export price (ibid:249-250). Despite heavy opposition, the government has retained the Premium system on the basis that its removal would lead to a rapid rise in domestic rice prices. This would result in a drop in the real income of non-farm workers, leading to pressure on the government to increase urban wages,

which in turn would necessitate increased tax revenues. The price paid by the government for its refusal to devise a more equitable policy, has been to discourage productive effort on the part of the small farmer, and to hinder technological progress in agriculture. In sum, the rice premium has succeeded only in reducing output (ibid:255). At the other end of the scale, the monopolistic marketing system for agricultural products has ensured that the financial benefits of the rice trade reach only the elite (Turton, 1980b:5-7). With all avenues of enterprise in the field of rice marketing under the exclusive control of a minority of the population, it is hardly surprising that for the bulk of the peasantry there has been little motivation to increase rice production.

6.7 The Development of Capitalist Agriculture in Thailand

During the 1950s, the total area under paddy grew very slowly in the country as a whole, and with yields declining over this period[1] there

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[1] Paddy yield per rai in 1958-60 (1.95kgs) was well below the average fifty years earlier (293kgs) (Ingram, 1971:238). By the late 1950s however yields of paddy had begun, at last, to rise as a result of two important technological improvements, namely the increase in area served by irrigation, or by flood control, and the wider use of improved seeds. These improvements were the first signs of positive technological progress in rice cultivation since the beginning of Thailand's rice boom. The increase in yields beginning in the 1950s and continuing through the 1960s, were a feature in all parts of the country. However, the increases were very unevenly distributed, not only because of unequal investment in technological improvements, but also because of environmental limitations and differences. The greatest proportional increase in yield was experienced in the North, 80%, more than three times the national average rate of increase. Regional variations in method of cultivation also play a part in determining absolute yield (see Hanks, 1972), with average yields lowest in areas such as the Northeast where the broadcast method has persisted. Nevertheless, the Central Region, still undergoing a gradual transition from broadcasting to transplanting, has continued to dominate the rice economy, with half of the total area planted, slightly more than half of the total output of paddy, and a rising yield increasingly above the national average, largely as a result of improvements in water control. (Ingram, 1971:239)

was very little increase in total output. Furthermore, since the increase in output during the decade (4%) was occurring at a time of greatly increased population growth (27% during the decade), the amount of paddy available for export was severely limited. With the recently declining world price of rice, this situation paved the way for the diversification of agriculture in Thailand.

Thus, in the mid 1950s, after almost one hundred years of increasing specialisation in rice production, during which time the expansion of the area under production had occurred at more or less the same rate as the growth of population, the pattern changed abruptly. Over the 15 year period 1950-52 to 1965-67, the total area under cultivation continued to expand at about 2.2% per annum. However, the area planted in rice rose by only 0.9% per annum during this time, while the area under all other crops expanded by a spectacular average of 9.4% per annum (Suvaphorn, 1975:100)[1].

Non-rice crops had, of course, always been cultivated for domestic consumption and, in certain areas, specific crops had long been produced for sale within the traditional marketing framework[2] (see p. 250 above, Chapter 8, and Turton, 1975). It was not really until the 1940s however that cultivation of other crops began on any large scale for the

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[1] In absolute numbers, the area under rice grew from 35.1 million rai to 42.2 million, while the area under other crops grew from 5 million rai to 20.5 million during this period (Ingram, 1971:238). The proportion of crops other than rice had thus grown from 4.5% of the total area under crops in 1948, to 12.5% in 1950-52, to 21.4% in 1958-60 and to 32.7% in 1965-67 (ibid.:51).

[2] Zimmerman, in his rural survey of 1930-31, observed a wide variety of crops cultivated for home consumption in the North, including tobacco, miang (wild tea), peas, beans, bananas, cabbages, etc. He commented that although the tobacco was primarily for home consumption, the occasional surplus might be sold to the local market (1931:142).

international market, and the pace increased rapidly in the post-war years. In the late 1950s, the World Bank carried out a study of Thailand's economy. Their findings and advice led to the promulgation in 1962 of the 'First Six-Year Plan, 1961-66, Investment Promotion Act' which, in Turton's words, led to:

> '...an increasingly capitalist development in the Thai economy, albeit highly dependent, uneven and incomplete.' (1980b:2).

Crop diversification was an attractive policy in the face of declining world rice prices, and an increasingly favourable export market for many other crops. A small number of major crops accounted for most of the growth in area planted. Some of these important crops were ones which had been cultivated traditionally in Thailand, such as cotton, rubber, tobacco, coconuts, sugar cane, fruit and vegetables, but their production increased sharply after the 1950s. The increased demand for these products came mostly from growing domestic markets. However, other crops, notably maize, cassava and kenaf, were more or less 'new' crops to Thailand, and were introduced, and produced, almost entirely to satisfy international market demands[1] (Ingram, 1971:261). The increased production of these 'new' crops, was achieved, albeit for somewhat different reasons[2], '...in time-honoured fashion, by the expansion of area rather than through increased yields' (Chapman, 1978a:4-5).

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[1] In the period 1965-67, 100% of cassava produced in Thailand was exported, 95% of rubber, 94% of maize and 69% of kenaf and jute. In contrast, only 7% of tobacco was exported, and in fact by this time Thailand was a net importer of tobacco, as well as of cotton and sugar cane (Ingram, 1971:263, Table XXVII).

[2] Conditions in Thailand in the 1960s were, of course, considerably changed from those in which, a century earlier, the seeds of the rice export trade had first been sown. The growth in production of 'new' crops in the 1960s was taking place alongside a considerable development in export-oriented industry. Furthermore, the availability of inputs such as fertiliser, which provided the option to intensify production, benefitted only the large producer. The capital costs to the smallholder were generally too high and thus extensive methods predominated at this time.

The nature of Thailand's export industry has thus changed radically since the 1950s. At that time, the four major traditional export items (rice, rubber, tin and teak) had constituted 80-90% of all merchandise exports. By 1968, however, these four items had fallen to only 52% of exports, while six of the major 'new' crops (maize, cassava, kenaf, kapok, oilseeds and tobacco) earned almost 4 billion baht in export proceeds, slightly more than for the total rice export in that year (Ingram, 1971:265).

This new phase in Thailand's economic development followed a similar pattern, in terms of regional variation, to the earlier expansion of rice production. Over half of the increased acreage under non-rice crops was situated within the Central Region. However, an important feature of most of the 'new' crops is that they are rainfed, upland crops. Consequently, the Northeast Region, with its vast expanses of upland, unsuitable for rice cultivation, provided an ideal environment for the production of such crops. With a strong overseas market for produce such as maize, cassava and kenaf[1], and the expansion of the highway network into the Northeast[2], as well as a recent and rapid increase in the number of tractors, this region experienced a sudden growth in cultivation.

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[1] None of these three crops had been significant in exports prior to 1958, but by 1965 the three together accounted for 22% of the value of exports (Corden & Richter, 1967:137).

[2] Just as the growth of railways had begun to open up the outer provinces to the rice export industry in the 1920s, so has the post-war expansion of the road system continued this process in relation to the increased production of non-rice crops. Between 1949 and 1969, the paved national highways grew ten-fold, from a mere 780kms to 7,822kms (Ingram, 1971:276-77). Ingram describes the Thai farmer's response to the growth of the road system as:

> '...vigorous,...(bringing)...people and productive capacity ...into effective contact with outside markets...Studies of particular roads show large increases in agricultural output in the areas served by the new roads.' (ibid.:277-78)

The Northern Region, which as we have seen was largely excluded from the growth in rice production for export because of inadequate transportation systems prior to the 1920s, was unable to participate in the more recent development of non-rice crops for export because of the lack of adequate upland suitable for their cultivation. The majority of cash crops grown in the North in recent decades have been produced primarily for the internal market. However, specialisation in crop production has occurred not only at a regional level, but also at the local level, within provinces. For example, in Chiengmai Province in 1974, the predominant[1] cash crop was garlic. Although cultivated in all districts within the Province, in that year 75% of all land under garlic was concentrated within five particular districts, and 35% within a single district (Fang). Similarly, in the same year, 58% of the area cultivated with shallots was in Chom Thong, and more than 50% of sugar cane in Phrao. Consequently some districts (including Mae Taeng) are involved in the production of cash crops on only a very small scale (see Chapter 7, Section 7.10).

Nevertheless, the diversification of agriculture in Thailand as a whole, seen as an attempt to revive the pace of economic growth in the face of deteriorating profitability in the export of rice, has undoubtedly been successful. Indeed, two eminent economists, commenting on the impact on Thailand's economy of the expansion of new export crops, have written:

> 'Thailand must be one of the few less developed countries other than oil exporters of which one can say that in recent years foreign trade, through growing markets it has provided, has been "an engine of growth".' (Corden & Richter, 1967:149)

By 1975, agricultural products contributed 75% of the total export earnings, and by 1980 Thailand had become the only net food exporting

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[1] i.e. Predominant in terms of area planted with a particular crop.

country in the ASEAN region. However, the expansion of cultivation of non-rice crops is now beginning to show signs of imminent decline similar to that which occurred in rice production in the 1950s. As we have seen, much of the increase in production had been achieved through an extension of acreage onto hitherto uncultivated uplands but, by the end of the 1970s, this land had also been exhausted. With the scope for expansion thus diminished, and in the absence of widespread technological improvement, yields of non-rice crops in most parts of Thailand have begun to fall (Turton, 1980b:3).

At the village level, production of non-rice crops seems generally to have been more cautious than the national export figures would suggest. In view of the high relative wholesale value of output per rai for such crops, often worth 2, 3 or more times the value of rice, it is perhaps surprising that non-rice crop production did not occur on an even greater scale. Small farmers have tended to plant the new cash crops on part of their land, whilst continuing to produce rice as well. Ingram has suggested that:

> '(Although) this practice reflects the cultural role of rice ...it also has economic purpose and interpretation. By planting enough rice for his family, the farmer reduces the risk of venturing into a new cash crop with its uncertain market price...' (1971:265)

Naturally, the proportion of production for subsistence and for market needs varies considerably between the more commercialised and the more traditional parts of the country. Silcock, for example, has noted that cultivators in the vicinity of Chiengmai have been exceptionally innovative and willing to experiment with new techniques and new crops, and that:

> '...(in the late 1960s)...the typical farming pattern in the Far North includes the aim to grow enough rice for family subsistence as a first priority with supplementary crops - whether or not there is a surplus of rice for sale - as sources of cash income...In economic terms the rice crop is probably of diminishing importance.' (1970:139-140)

As soon as the government recognised the considerable potential for profit in the export of 'new' crops, it began to encourage a widespread and large-scale expansion of production[1]. The rapid spread of non-food, non-staple crops which followed has, as Turton has pointed out, put the the small producer in an extremely vulnerable position, when, for example, after costly initial investment, which may have put him heavily into debt, international prices might suddenly drop (1980b:8). Larger producers, on the other hand, with access to government assistance, both financial and technical, have been able to survive the fluctuations in world market prices, while the small farmer has, in many cases, ended up selling his land to settle debts. Thus the government, having effectively procluded the small farmer from actively participating in the rice export trade, has now also removed the incentive for small-scale production of non-rice cash crops for export.

6.8 The Consequences of Capitalist Development in Rural Thailand

By 1980, twenty years after the beginning of the 'First Six-Year Plan', farmers' incomes, according to Turton, '...have either stagnated or declined.' (1980b:4). A recent World Bank survey suggests that one third

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[1] It is interesting to note, however, that diversification of agriculture in the outer provinces of Thailand had started well before the Government had begun to play an active role in encouraging increased production of the new crops. According to Corden and Richter, the initial expansion of non-rice crop cultivation was:

> '...the response of farmers to opportunities for raising their incomes, opportunities which were brought to their notice not by the government but by Chinese traders.' (1967:136)

of agricultural households in Thailand are in absolute poverty, and many millions more are barely above a very low poverty line. Again, the extent of the problems varies from one part of the country to another, but one estimate has suggested that 64% of rural households in the North, and almost 75% in the Northeast, are below this poverty line (ibid).

In a recent paper on agricultural development in Thailand, Chapman begins with the following words:

> 'In 1974 and 1975 parts of Thailand erupted politically, as never before. Repeated demonstrations by farmers in Bangkok were accompanied by the brief emergence of the Farmer's Federation of Thailand, demanding radical changes in government land policies. These events drew attention to significant changes which had been occurring in rural Thailand over the previous 20 years, as a consequence of population growth, the gradual commercialization and mechanization of agriculture, and of policies which emphasized production rather than equity objectives....it is now clear that as a consequence of agricultural development during the past 20-25 years commonly 20-50 per cent of village households in central and north Thailand are either full tenants, or landless labourers living on wages from day to day.' (1978a:1. My emphasis)

The changing balance of human and land resources has not simply been a result of rapid growth of population outstripping available land. Indeed, although it is true to say that the rate of expansion of land under cultivation since the war has been at a much slower pace than at times in the past, it has nevertheless continued at a rate equal to, or even slightly greater than, the rate of population growth.[1] The major external factor which has radically altered the situation has been the accumulation of large holdings by a minority of landlords responding to the increased commercialisation and mechanisation of agriculture.

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[1] 'In the period 1954-74, rural population increased by at least 65% from approximately 12 million to 30 million, and the total cropped area increased by about 73% in the same period.' (Chapman, 1978a:3)

Traditionally, farm holdings in Thailand have generally been well below 50 rai, even in areas with lower yields, since the subsistence needs of a household, plus an adequate surplus (for sale, storage or contribution to the temple) could normally be produced from 10-20 rai. In the mid-nineteenth century, grants of land from the King varied according to rank, but commoners were permitted a maximum of only 25 rai.[1] In many cases the area cultivated would have been smaller than this because of the shortage of labour. In pioneer areas, early settlers would soon have reduced their holdings to suit the needs of their households (see Chapter 7).

The pressure of population on land occurred first in the constricted valleys of the North. Zimmerman noted considerable landlessness in Chiengmai Province even in the early 1930s. According to his survey results (1931:26), the average proportion of households without land was about 27% for all communities observed in the Province, but reached as high as 54% in San Mahaphon (a sub-district adjacent to Inthakhin, see Map 5, p. 76). This figure was one of the highest recorded by Zimmerman for the whole of Thailand, with the obvious exceptions of the major urban areas of Bangkok and Thonburi. He also remarked of Chiengmai that virtually all available irrigable land had by that time been taken up (ibid.:142).

As we have seen, with the rapid growth of the rice export industry in the second part of the nineteenth century, the size of holdings in more commercialised areas was limited only by shortages of labour and capital. Almost one hundred years later, by the 1950s, the growth of population and the by now well-established commercialisation of

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[1] According to Kemp (1981:2) a common freeman had a sakdina of 15 rai.

agriculture meant that the demand for land in all parts of the country had increased dramatically. Although in 1954 a Land Code was introduced limiting agricultural land holdings to 50 rai per person, this was never fully put into operation, and, following the coup d'état of Marshal Sarit in 1959, the maximum landholding provision was abolished (Turton, 1980b:23). Thus, just as Thailand's economic horizons were changing from a concentration on rice cultivation to a much wider range of internationally-required commodities, the way had been opened up for the accumulation and consolidation of land (ibid.).

With the rapid spread of tractor cultivation[1] after 1960 and the growing numbers of landless labourers willing to work for a very low daily wage, big landowners were able to maintain increasingly large holdings. Much of the new land cleared for upland crops in the 1960s and 1970s was retained in holdings of 30 rai and more (Chapman, 1978a:3). The inevitable consequence of this widespread practice has been that demand for land has far exceeded the supply.

Accurate figures of present-day land distribution are extremely difficult to obtain. A major problem is that all available official statistics record larger holdings simply as "60 rai and over", so that it is impossible to deduce either the size, or the proportion, of very large holdings. Turton has noted that in the Northern Region there are:

> '...a number of holdings over 10,000 rai, and whole villages (which) may rent land from a single owner...(as well as)... a handful of old aristocrats or nobility...(who)...are said to own several 100,000 rai each.' (1980 b:17)

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[1] Primarily in rainfed fields.

The situation in the Central Plains, particularly in the prime agricultural lands close to Bangkok, where vast tracts of land are owned by members of the Thai Royal Family, descendents of old aristocratic families, politicians and other members of the urban elite, can be assumed to follow a similar pattern[1].

In the country as a whole, average holding size had shown a substantial increase between the early 1930s and the 1950s[2], thereafter a slight decline to 1960 and, by 1974, a further significant increase (Suvaphorn, 1975:109, Tables 3-11, and Turton, 1980b:15, Table (a)). The patterns and degree of change varied from one region to another within Thailand. In the North, the average holding size had, since the beginning of Thailand's economic development phase, been comparatively small and, unlike the rest of the country, had shown a steadily declining trend between the early 1930s and 1960. By 1974 however, although the modal figure for holding size in the North had increased only slightly since 1962, the mean size had increased in pace with the rest of the country (Turton, 1980b:15), reflecting a substantial increase both in the number and in the disproportionate size of larger holdings. According to Turton, the proportion of holdings of 30 rai and over in the North had doubled between 1962 and 1974, from 16.1% to 33.7% Unfortunately the full significance of these figures cannot really be assessed without accurate contemporary figures for the proportion of landless households.

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[1] The tendency, by absentee landlords, to accumulate extensive holdings has been exacerbated by the 1965 Land Taxation Act which:

> '...provides for a highly regressive land tax which benefits the holders of large amounts of land, and more valuable land, and encourages land accumulation and speculation.' (Turton, 1980b:17)

[2] This increase in average size of holding in the country as a whole appears to have been in progress at least since the beginning of this century (Suvaphorn, 1975:109), but there is no regional breakdown. Probably the increase was limited to the Central Region at that stage.

While holdings at the upper end of the scale have been increasing in size, those at the lower end have become increasingly fragmented. Because of traditional inheritance patterns, since land has become scarce and improved mortality rates have increased the numbers of surviving heirs, the small landowner has found his inheritance dwindling (see Chapter 7). With increased pressure on land, many holdings have become too small to cultivate profitably and, with growing competition for rented land to supplement small holdings[1], many farmers have been forced to sell their land. According to Suvaphorn, the problem of fragmentation is most severe in the North, where, as we have seen, pressure on land generally occurred earlier than elsewhere in Thailand because of topographical constraints on irrigable land (1975:114)[2]. Turton, however, has remarked:

> 'The trend is not towards fragmentation of small plots, but of loss of land by many smallholders, the consolidation of holdings by those already possessing substantial amounts, and the entry into the land market of new owners, often from towns.' (1980b:16)

When figures for holding size for 1950, 1962 and 1974 are compared (Table 43), it would appear that in all regions after 1950 there was considerable fragmentation of holdings, with the proportion of households owning less than 15 rai increasing substantially in all areas.

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[1] In 1981, as a result of persistently fierce competition for tenancies in the North, Turton has observed a new development whereby in some areas the tenant is now required to make a cash payment to the landowner, in addition to the usual share of the harvest (Personal communication. See also Chapter 7, below).

[2] For example, in 1960-62, the ratio of land in field crops to the agricultural population was 1.9:1 (rai/person) in Chiengmai Province, which, despite being the highest ratio for all seven Northern provinces, was very much lower than in most other provinces in the country (Suvaphorn, 1975:129). Similarly, Chapman has noted that of eight provinces in Thailand with a population density of 500 per sq.km. of cultivated land, six are in the far northern region (1978b:223).

The Northern Region, where small plots had long been the norm, showed the lowest proportional increase of holdings under 15 rai. However, for the period between 1962 and 1974, Turton's comments would certainly appear to apply, with the proportion of holdings under 15 rai having fallen throughout the country, indicating loss of land on a large scale, while those over 60 rai had more than doubled in all but the Southern Region. Although the accuracy and the comparability of these figures may be questionable, the trend suggested by them would seem to be highly plausible (see Chapter 7).

Table 43

Distribution of Holding Size, 1950-1974

Region/Year	Under 15 rai	15-60 rai	Over 60 rai
North			
1950	57.6%	39.8%	2.6%
1962	63.9	32.8	3.4
1974	44.5	43.3	12.2
Northeast			
1950	12.9	71.9	15.2
1962	44.6	50.8	4.5
1974	23.2	66.4	10.4
Central			
1950	7.9	67.3	24.8
1962	37.8	53.2	8.9
1974	21.7	60.8	17.4
South			
1950	23.6	65.6	10.8
1962	45.7	48.5	5.7
1974	37.8	56.3	5.5
Kingdom			
1950	18.0	64.9	17.1
1962	47.9	46.7	5.4
1974	30.4	58.1	11.5

Sources: Turton (1980b:15, Table (a)) and
Suvaphorn (1975:109, Tables 3-11)

A problem which has further weakened the position of small landowners is the widespread lack of legal tenure. Although land registration was first introduced in 1901, there has never been a full cadastral survey which is necessary before full title deeds can be issued (Turton, 1980b: 17-18). Nor does there appear to have been any other move to improve the situation on the part of the government, or by the landowners themselves. In 1971 Ingram estimated that only 12.3% of all cultivated land was held under full title deed and, more recently, Turton, referring to a World Bank report, has suggested a figure of 14% for 1977. Furthermore, Ingram has estimated that as much as two thirds of the area in farms is held without any legal claim whatsoever. Turton has pointed out that with the growing scarcity of land:

> '...(the) weakness of holders of "informal" tenure becomes increasingly apparent...(and)...the strong and unscrupulous may find it increasingly advantageous to formally register rights in land claimed and cleared by others.' (1980b:18)

The spread of the cash economy has worked against the small farmer in yet another way, namely in the availability of credit facilities and the consequent rise in rural indebtedness. Turton clearly catalogues the devastating consequences of this situation:

> 'For the great majority of farmers, indebtedness and high interest rates now present a major problem...it has been estimated that as many as 80% of farming families are in debt. Unofficial interest rates average 25% with a rate of 60% per annum being widespread (and possibly closer to the average in the North)...Many poor farmers, who for lack of collateral are likely to pay higher rates, borrow to meet basic needs or crises. While some small amounts of unofficial credit is obtained through local rotating credit societies, and from kinsmen etc., most is from local moneylenders who are usually rich farmers, landlords, millers, shop keepers and traders. Many of these obtain relatively cheap institutional credit in order to lend it out at high unofficial rates or to trade in agricultural products or inputs... <u>There has been large scale loss of land as a result of inability to repay loans</u>...(In many cases land was forfeited which was)...worth many times the principle, as a result of failure to pay interest on debts that were above the...legal maximum rate of 15%' (1980b:10-11. My emphasis).

The problem of indebtedness is perhaps even greater for those without land. Turton refers to the practice, increasingly common in the North, whereby a tenant 'sells' his share of the crop to the landlord before the harvest, for cash, at a rate which can be as low as a quarter of the eventual market price (ibid.:20).

A consequence of the growth of very large holdings on the one hand, and the increase in landlessness on the other, has been a substantial growth in the number, and the proportion, of tenant farmers. Traditional legal constraints on the growth of large estates had prevented this problem from arising in the past, although it would seem to have been most common in former times, in Northern Thailand. In 1976, according to Turton, 27% of agricultural households in the North rented the land they worked, with tenancy being particularly acute in the northern Chiengmai basin (ibid.:19. See also Chapter 7, pp.323 -332, below). The particular problems facing the tenant farmer are again described by Turton:

> 'The tenant works under extremely disadvantageous conditions. Rents vary between 30-50% of the produce. In the North, where the standard tenancy is termed "work dividing half" rents up to two thirds of the gross product are not unknown. The majority of rents are still paid in a proportion of the paddy harvested. Tenants may have to bear the cost of transport of the landlord's share of the crop and even deliver up a share of the straw and manure. The great majority of tenancies are annual, oral contracts so there is little incentive for substantial improvements.' (ibid:19-20)

6.9 The Rise in Swiddening in Northern Thailand

The problems of population pressure now facing the whole of Thailand were, it would appear, first encountered within the comparatively tight confines of the Northern Valleys. Although traditional patterns of intensive cultivation and small holding size had permitted the accommodation of the slowly growing population during the first half of this century with comparative ease, since the 1950s the situation in the North has become acute.

One way of increasing the productivity of a fixed area of land was found to be double cropping, or multiple cropping with dry season irrigation (Chapman, 1978b:233-234). However, this was limited in scope in some areas because of topographical constraints on traditional irrigation systems, and in others by the priorities of the Royal Irrigation Department in the construction of modern dams (ibid:224-225. See also Appendix 7). Thus in those areas where dry season irrigation was inadequate, unreliable or non-existant, the double cropping option was not available. Furthermore, given high unit costs, there was little incentive on the part of most cultivators to attempt to increase their yields by means of using fertilizer. Consequently, given the prevailing political and economic structures in Thailand, it could be said that the scope for intensifying the production of rice in irrigated fields in the North had reached its maximum potential by the end of the 1950s.

However, the problems of inadequate irrigation, high costs of fertilizer, and the general lack of incentive to intensify further the production of rice or to venture too far into the cultivation of other cash crops, were only the concern of landowning and tenant households. As Chapman

has written poignantly, 'The rest stood by, landless and watched,' (1978a:8). With the immense upsurge of population in the Northern valleys since the Second World War, and the growing imbalance of land distribution, the proportion of landless households continues to increase, possibly at a rate as high as 8% per annum (Turton, 1980b:19). Chapman's comment above is not, of course, to be taken literally. The landless peasant has been forced to seek alternative means of survival, given the fierce competition for tenancies and even for agricultural wage labouring work within villages. One method has been the increased seasonal movement, particularly of young people, to seek non-agricultural work, either locally or in other provinces (see Chapters 4 and 8).

However, one of the most significant responses of the swelling population of the lowlands of Northern Thailand, to almost static irrigable land resources, has been the sudden, recent increase in swidden agriculture. Throughout the twentieth century, swiddening has been widely practised by the various tribal groups living in the Northern uplands[1]. It has also been practised, in isolated cases, by lowland dwelling Northern Thais (Judd, 1961), especially as a transitional stage to terracing of upland slopes (Keen, 1972:15). However, since the early 1960s it has become increasingly prevalent among lowland farmers whose normal technique of rice production had been transplanting in irrigated fields. Chapman has recently estimated that some 250,000 Northern Thai villagers are dependent on swidden cultivation, and that they have been:

> '...compelled by economic necessity to move regressively into a less advanced cultivation system.' (1978b:222. My emphasis)

[1] Population pressure among tribal groups has led to a general reduction in the long fallowing period observed traditionally. Resultant ecological devastation is now a problem of massive proportions, with vast expanses of secondary forest irrevocably destroyed (see Stott, 1978). But the problem extends beyond the mountains; loss of forest cover has affected the water table and caused severe flooding in lowland valleys (see Appendix 7).

Keen has described two forms of swiddening as practised by Northern Thai farmers: the first he calls "fringe" swiddening, which is the gradual extension of village boundaries by households owning inadequate irrigated holdings in order to maintain sufficient output to provide for basic subsistence needs. The second, and in Keen's view the more dangerous form of swiddening, is described as "wild", and is practised by landless households to supplement an extremely low wage income (1972:131-133). Chapman has noted that such "swidden only" households are generally smaller and younger (1978b:227), and presumably have little hope of ever obtaining any irrigated land either by inheritance or by any other means. Keen has remarked that:

> '...the haphazard or "wild" swiddening, taking place each season a short distance further out from the villages, is both irrational and unprofitable, a last resort of men who can see no other way, but who, in seeking for greater security destroy both their own, and that of their neighbours.' (1972:133. My emphasis)

Both Keen and Chapman graphically catalogue the inherently destructive nature of this "reluctant" swiddening. Because those who practise it generally wish to maintain their contact and identity with the lowland community[1], the areas chosen by them tend to be middle terraces around the margins of the irrigated flood plains. Since such terrain is limited, the swiddens generally have a very short fallow[2], which inevitably leads rapidly to the deterioration of soil fertility.

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[1] '...except in (extreme) circumstances a strong attachment to a familiar way of life is an important influence against individuals or small groups moving far from the wet rice fields for swidden operations' (Keen, 1972:19). See Ch.8 regarding migration from Ban Pong to pa miang.

[2] In view of the fact that widespread swiddening by lowlanders in the North is a very recent phenomenon, it is not possible to anticipate its patterns in the longer term. However at the present time it differs markedly from traditional swiddening as practised by neighbouring hill-tribes who, until comparatively recently, have strictly observed a long fallow period in order to permit adequate soil regeneration. In contrast to the hilltribes' integral swidden system, the lowlanders have tended to treat their upland plots more as fixed fields, allowing only a minimum fallow period. Thus with regards to the essential long-fallow component, it may be said that their standards of husbandry fall far short of standards normally found among swiddeners.

Furthermore, according to Keen:

> 'The standards of crop husbandry practised by the Northern Thai farmers in their rice swiddens are generally low, and seem to bear no relationship to those of the same farmers in their paddi fields. Clearing the swiddens is a fairly haphazard undertaking; very often only part of the brush and trees is cut...The author has not seen nor heard of a case where secondary burning to provide additional ash and more cleared space is carried out - Large trees are left standing (but) branches are not lopped off. No firebreaks are cut... (and)...the fires spread over all the surrounding land.' (1972:21)

It is these factors, burning, clearing and weeding, as well as the essential minimum fallow period, which determine yields on swidden rice fields. However, even under optimum conditions, the average output of rice from swidden fields is generally considerably lower, in relation to the input of labour[1], than either broadcast or transplanted fields. Keen found that the average yield on Northern Thai swiddens in the late 1960s, was 30%-50% lower than those produced by various tribal groups on their swiddens at that time (Keen, 1972:23). This enormous discrepancy was directly attributed, by Keen, to the grossly inadequate standards of husbandry then practised by the Thai swiddeners (regardless of the serious problems created by their "fixed" field swiddening as opposed to the "integral" swiddening of the hill tribes (ibid:24-26)).

The question of why the Northern lowlanders should have turned, in such large numbers, to a method of cultivation which has such low returns for labour, brings us back to the subject which has been emphasised throughout this chapter, namely the reversal of the traditional balance between human and land resources, one result of which, in Chapman's words, has been 'the low opportunity cost of swidden labour' (1978b:229). Thus,

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[1] Chapman has estimated that the returns to the cultivator on labour invested per rai, at 1978 prices, was 4B/day worked on rice swiddens as compared to an average of 19B/day worked on lowland irrigated rice fields, (1978b:230, Table 12.4).

Chapman has argued, during much of the rainy season when there is no large-scale alternative local employment available, the landpoor, tenant or landless farmer can increase his income, albeit marginally, by the cultivation of upland fields (ibid. See also Chapter 7, Section 7.9 for a discussion of swiddening in Ban Pong).

If Chapman's hypothesis regarding 'low opportunity cost of swidden labour' is correct, then a further question arises as to why the standard of husbandry is not improved in order to ensure greater yields. Perhaps part of the answer is given by Keen, who emphasises the secondary and generally unofficial nature of such swiddening.[1] Much of the middle terraces and other land cleared during the 1960s and early 1970s by the Northern Thai swiddeners, was within government-owned Forest Reserve. Keen points out that tenure of these rice swiddens was consequently 'barely institutionalised', and that '...boundaries change, overlap and go out of existence from time to time.' (1972:33).

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[1] In 1978, the headman of Ban Pong reported to me that three or four years earlier an amnesty had been announced, giving usufruct rights to all current illegal swiddeners. Unfortunately I have been unable to trace any official record relating to it. However, if the headman's report is correct, it would be interesting to see if standards of husbandry among these swiddeners have subsequently improved. In either case it may well have been too late by the mid-1970s to arrest the process of soil deterioration, forest destruction, and uncontrolled weed growth which had been taking its toll for almost ten years.

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have stressed four main points. First, the major developments in the economy, which began in the middle of the nineteenth century, and culminated in Thailand becoming one of the world's major rice exporters by the turn of the century, were focussed almost exclusively on the Central Plains. Furthermore, more recent changes taking place since the middle of the twentieth century, towards diversification of agriculture and the production of non-rice crops for export, have tended to favour the Central and Northeastern Regions. The North therefore has been largely excluded from these major developments in Thai agriculture.

A second important feature which has differentiated the North from much of the rest of the country, has been its tradition of intensive methods of rice production, a pattern largely necessitated by the topography of the Region. Thus, while growth of population in the Central Plains has, to a great extent, been absorbed by its considerable potential for intensification of agriculture, in the Northern Valleys growth of population has produced a crisis of much greater intensity, and much sooner, than in other parts of the country. Third, the nature of government policy, both in relation to rice production in the early years of Thailand's development, and to non-rice crops in more recent years, has tended to favour the large landlord at the expense of the small producer. As a result there has been little incentive for the smallholder to increase or diversify production.

Finally, returning to an important point emphasised in Chapter 1, this account has traced the changes occurring since the early stages of development of Thailand's economy, when progress was hindered by a scarcity of labour, to the situation of more recent decades, in which economic development has been impeded by the rapid growth of population.

The impact of these patterns, on the economic structure of Ban Pong, will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7

LAND TENURE IN BAN PONG : ITS EVOLUTION AND CHANGE

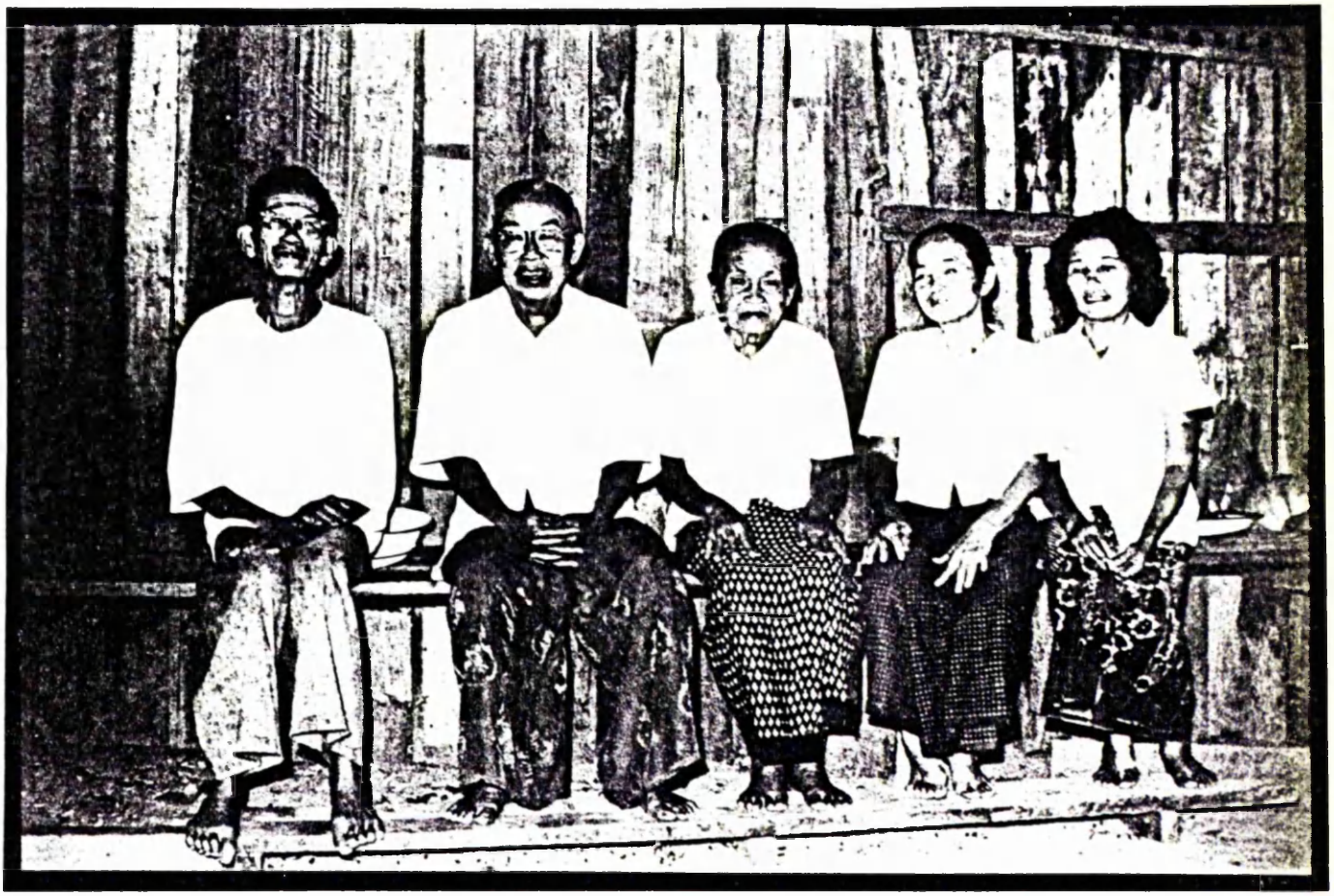

PLATE 7: The Ban Pong Elite. From left to right, Phọ Nan Srithọn Sumda'im, Phọ Nọi Kaeo Chaimongkhon and his wife Mae Ui Kaeodi, Mae Ui Sai Chaimongkhon, and Nang Sao Amphai, youngest daughter of Phọ Nan Srithọn (August 1974)

7. Introduction

The circumstances which have led to widespread landlessness on the one hand and the accumulation of large holdings by a minority of wealthy landlords on the other, in Thailand as a whole, were discussed in detail in Chapter 6. In this chapter I return to look at the Ban Pong data, and trace the evolution of present-day patterns of land tenure in the Village since its initial settlement in the early 1880s. Detailed case studies of some of the wealthy Village landlords are presented, to highlight the particular circumstances which have led to their monopoly of resources in the community. Conditions of tenancy and landlessness in the Village are discussed, as is the recent large-scale clearance of upland swidden, which has been occurring in many parts of Northern Thailand since the 1960s. Finally, factors which have limited the intensification and diversification of agriculture by landowners and tenant farmers in the Valley, reflecting patterns found widely in the Region, are examined.

7.1 The Data

In the early 1880s, when the new settlers first moved into Ban Pong Valley, the area was an expanse of almost uninterrupted jungle (see Chapter 1, p.50). Clearing of the jungle, levelling of the land, and reconstruction of the long-abandoned canal system to irrigate the new rice fields would have been an arduous and time-consuming task. Little is known of this early period and no records have survived to indicate either the rate of growth, or the size of the population, nor the rate at which the forest was cleared.

In the absence of land records dealing with this early period[1], I have attempted to reconstruct the changing patterns of land acquisition since settlement of the Village, using data from a retrospective survey conducted in August 1974. A member of each of the 460 households resident in Ban Pong at that time was interviewed, and the questionnaire covered current and former land-owning status of the household, as well as that of parents and grandparents. Inevitably the reliability and consistency of the data become more questionable as they recede in time. Details of land ownership, both past and present, of current householders presented no problems, but those of parents, and particularly of grandparents, were more difficult to assess and interpret. Although it might reasonably be assumed that most individuals would have an accurate memory of their own parents' land ownership status, the problem of recall inevitably influenced the recording of details concerning grandparents' land. Furthermore, there is the problem of changing tenure status during the lifetime of an individual, as land is

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[1] In fact, even present-day land records proved to be extremely unreliable. These records, held by the kamnan, are generally kept for taxation purposes, and consequently in many cases the area of land held was grossly underestimated. Furthermore, because of the general inefficiency of the land registration system, there were cases of land still registered in the name of a long dead owner, whose heirs had since sub-divided and, in some cases, sold their shares. Even in cases of land purchases, when the change of ownership should, by law, have been registered, plots were sometimes still in the name of the original owner. In view of the extreme lack of consistency of these records with my own survey data, I decided not to use these 'official' records at all in my analysis. For a discussion of legal and informal systems of land tenure in Thailand see Kemp (1981).

gradually cleared, or additional plots bought, and, at a later stage, sold or bequeathed. Another problem in the analysis of data using the survey method in a population as large as Ban Pong, is the overlapping of responses, since individuals living in different households would, in some cases, have given information concerning the same sets of parents and grandparents. In the absence of a complete genealogical analysis of the population, this problem has been difficult to overcome.

A further problem arises from the fact that current householders themselves represent three generations, so that a further degree of overlap inevitably occurs as the parents or grandparents of some informants would still be living, and resident in the community, and thus be informants in their own right. Also, as was noted in the analysis of retrospective fertility data (see Chapter 2), information about the land ownership status of parents and grandparents of current residents of Ban Pong, is inevitably that of a survivor population, that is, the descendants of individuals who chose to remain in the Village. Former landowners or landless households who had left the Village at some time in the past would not therefore be represented in the survey. Indeed, one might argue quite forcibly that landowners and their heirs are more likely to have remained in the village than the landless and their offspring, but in the absence of adequate land records this cannot be substantiated.

Finally, given the size of the population of Ban Pong, with more than 1000 individuals aged 20 and over, it became clear to me whilst preparing the survey, that to obtain data for every adult in the Village would have presented enormous problems for analysis. Consequently I decided to limit data collection to one individual per household. In land-owning households the informant was the land owner him/herself[1], but in landless households, the head of household, usually male, was interviewed[2].

The data on former patterns of land ownership in Ban Pong are consequently little more than impressionistic. The analysis given below is not intended to provide an exhaustive picture of land distribution in the past, but it has been carried out, with full recognition of the limitations of the data, because no alternative microeconomic survey, covering such a time period, exists for this part of Thailand[3].

Data on tenancy, cultivation of cash crops, and the clearance of upland fields, discussed later in this chapter, were recorded partly in the major village surveys of March 1973 and March 1974 and partly in a preliminary survey of agricultural practice in Ban Pong, conducted in August 1973.

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[1] Only 10 of the 143 currently land-owning households included two or more individuals owning land independently. In these cases all owners were interviewed separately.

[2] This method would have produced a serious bias had the rule of matri-local residence been adhered to as strongly in Ban Pong as elsewhere in the North but, as was seen in Chapter 4 (p.180), the proportion of men and women who had moved into Ban Pong to marry was more or less equal, so one may assume that this particular bias is minimised. Post-marital residence patterns will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9 below.

[3] Laurence D. Stifel has attempted to reconstruct changing patterns of land ownership in villages in Ayuthya and Nakhon Pathom provinces in the Central Plains, using land records for the period 1910 to 1970 (Stifel, 1976).

7.2 A Reconstruction of Patterns of Land Acquisition in Ban Pong

There appear to have been several distinct developmental stages in the pattern of land acquisition and disposal since the settlement of Ban Pong in the early 1880s. Most of the initial clearance of the land would seem to have occurred during the first 30-40 years following settlement[1]. During this period, areas cleared were generally medium to large, mostly between 10 and 30 rai, and with a small number of holdings over 30 rai[2]. After the early 1920s, the number of holdings acquired through clearance fell rapidly, as most of the available land had already been claimed[3]. During the 1940s a small number of new fields were cleared at the margins of the irrigable area, by newly arrived migrants, but the total amount of land cleared since 1940 represents only 2% of present-day holdings.

By the second and third decades of this century the primary holdings were being sub-divided, with most heirs inheriting between 5 and 15 rai. Transfer of land by sale had also begun by this time; again, most of the

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[1] From available data I estimate that of the present-day 1504 rai owned by residents of Ban Pong -

By 1900 about 20%,	i.e. approximately	300	rai	had	been cleared,
By 1910 about 50%,	"	750	rai	"	"
By 1920 about 80%,	"	1200	rai	"	"
By 1930 about 90%,	"	1350	rai	"	"
By 1940 about 98%,	"	1475	rai	"	"

[2] The few cases of very large holdings (30-96 rai) cleared during this period were all subsequently sub-divided into medium holdings (10-15 rai). It would appear that in such cases, settlers with many surviving heirs had laid claim to sufficient land to guarantee an adequate inheritance for each of them, though the land itself may have taken many years to clear. It is unlikely that early settlers of Ban Pong were involved in the production of rice for sale.

[3] Similarly, all cultivable land in the area studied by Tanabe, in nearby Mae Rim District, had been cleared by this time (1981:279).

holdings changing hands were between 5 and 15 rai[1]. A considerable number of farmers who had inherited small holdings at this time had purchased, and in a few cases cleared, additional land to increase their holding to within the 5-15 rai range. However, during this same period, the 1920s and 1930s, a small number of farmers were building up large holdings (30 to over 100 rai), by purchasing a number of small and medium-sized plots. In a few cases the farmers involved had been born in Ban Pong and had begun their process of land accumulation with a small inheritance[2]. However, the majority of them were recent migrants from Doi Saket and Mu'ang Districts of Chiengmai Province, who began to buy land within a decade of their settlement in Ban Pong[3]. Most of the migrants were from landless families, but were able to accumulate considerable wealth, very quickly, by their early monopoly of the miang (fermented tea) trade in Ban Pong[4] (see Chapter 8).

The accumulation of such large areas of irrigated fields by a group of commercially-oriented migrants in the 1920s and 1930s, would suggest that the production of a rice surplus for sale outside the Valley had begun to occur on a moderate scale. Since the main road to Chiengmai, to

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[1] The price per rai of land sold and bought were recorded in the survey wherever possible. The available data indicate that prior to the Second World War land transactions were all made in rupees (ngoen thaep), with prices ranging from 25 to 50 thaep per rai. Since the early 1940s all transactions have been in baht, with prices reaching about 1000฿ by the mid 1940s. Prices remained fairly stable until the early 1960s since when they have increased quite rapidly, to between 2000 and 3000฿ in the late 1960s, and 4000฿ in the early 1970s. It would appear that there has always been considerable variation in land prices according to the location of fields. For example in 1974, fields in the north of the Valley reached 5000฿ and more, while those in the south were selling for only 2000฿ per rai.

[2] See Case Studies 25 and 26 in Appendix 6.

[3] See Case Studies 3-6 below, and Appendix 6, Cases 20 and 21.

[4] It may be that these migrants, coming from areas close to the city which had long been centres of commercial activity, were more aware than other migrants of the market potential of the miang trade.

the west of the Valley (see Map 2) was not completed until the 1940s[1], it is possible that rice for sale may have been transported down-river, on the Ping, to the city.

As this small number of wealthy farmers were accumulating land, many others were selling out, usually plots of less than 15 rai. Sale of land in the Valley during the 1920s and 1930s was on quite a large scale, and many smallholding farmers lost their land at this time[2]. The circumstances which led to so many farmers selling their land were no doubt associated with the generalised hardship experienced throughout the country during the years immediately prior to, and during the Depression (see Chapter 6, pp.262-264)[3]. In addition, it would appear that in many cases farmers were unable to adjust to the rapidly changing economic conditions, with the spread of the cash economy, availability of credit, and growing commercialisation of agriculture. Faced with serious debts, smallholders had no alternative but to sell their land (see Chapter 6, p.277), thus paving the way for the accumulation of large holdings by a minority of the population.

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, the pace of land transactions in Ban Pong slowed down considerably, with only a small number of small to medium-sized holdings bought and sold during this time. However, there was a great deal of sub-division of land, by inheritance, during this period.

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[1] The first village 'bus' for transporting passengers and produce to markets in the city, was brought into operation in 1946. A daily service however did not begin until 1968.

[2] As noted in Chapter 6 (p.274), in his Rural Economic Survey of Thailand conducted in 1930-31, Zimmerman found an exceptionally high rate of landlessness (58%) in Sanmahaphon Sub-district, which adjoins Inthakhin to the south (1931:26).

[3] Stifel (1976:247), found that the period 1925-1934 was one of exceptionally high 'involuntary turnover' of land in a sample of six villages in Ayuthya and Nakhon Pathom Provinces, and similarly, the second half of the 1940s. The Ban Pong data suggest, contrary to Stifel's implicit assumption (ibid:258) that this pattern was not limited to the Central Plains. Furthermore, Stifel's assertion that the processes of sub-division and alienation of land were not associated with the growth of large landlords, or with the concomitant polarisation of socioeconomic strata within villages, would seem, at least in the North, to be incorrect.

In some cases this involved the division of primary holdings cleared 2-3 decades earlier, into still viable holdings of 5 to 15 rai, but others involved the secondary sub-division of holdings cleared in the early years of the settlement of Ban Pong, thus producing many holdings of less than 5 rai. In a number of cases the heirs to these holdings, too small to be economically viable, were able to purchase additional fields. Others began a practice whereby one heir would buy up the shares of his/her siblings to avoid excessive fragmentation. In such cases the siblings who had sold their shares would either have left the Valley to find land elsewhere, or remained as tenants or landless labourers. Some heirs attempted to make a living from their small holdings, perhaps with the addition of some rented lands, but in many cases such farmers were eventually forced to sell. The situation was exacerbated by the influx of new migrants in the 1940s (see Chapter 4, Table 30, p.174), a number of whom had sufficient cash to buy several small plots to create holdings of 10-25 rai.

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, the process of subdivision of land has continued, with many heirs being forced to sell their uneconomic holdings. Various strategies have been developed in an attempt to avoid the total loss of family lands. Apart from the practice mentioned above, of one sibling purchasing the shares of his/her co-inheritors, another mechanism has evolved whereby a group of siblings, in some cases co-residential, and in most cases living in close proximity to one another, have maintained the parental holding intact, still registered in the name(s) of the deceased owner(s), farming it jointly and sharing the produce (see Case 30, in Appendix 6).

Purchase of small to medium-sized plots by new migrants has also continued on a small scale over the last twenty years. More recently however, a small number of Ban Pong-born farmers, whose parents had been landless or had sold their land, have started to buy land. Typically such new owners have accumulated capital by working as tenants for many years, producing some cash crops for sale, and engaging in other money-making ventures such as trading and animal rearing (see Cases 9 and 10 below)[1]. Since this is a very recent development, it is too early to tell whether or not other landless households will attempt to follow a similar strategy to become landowners in the future. Nevertheless, although upward mobility is clearly a structural possibility in Ban Pong, for the majority of landless, particularly the landless labourer, acquisition of land is a virtual impossibility in view of the spiralling price of irrigated land in recent years[2].

7.3 Changing Patterns of Holding Size in Ban Pong

Data on holding size recorded in the survey, for current landowners and parents and grandparents who had owned (or still own) land in Ban Pong Valley were compared to see if they provided evidence of the steady decline in holding size found for the North as a whole (see Chapter 6, pp.276-278). The data presented in Table 44 indicate that the majority of the 'grandparent' group had owned middle-sized holdings (10-20 rai), and very few had less than 5 rai. The holdings of the 'parent' group were generally a little smaller, but still more than half had holdings of 10 rai or more. The decline in holding size among current landowners is more acute, with 44% owning less than 5 rai.

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[1] There is no doubt that the advent of family planning (see Chapter 5) in the late 1960s has played a significant part in this recent development. On the one hand it permits both husband and wife to devote all their energies to work and, on the other, it enables them to limit the size of their family to one which they can easily support. The desire to improve their families' economic position would seem to be a major factor in women's acceptance, and prolonged use, of contraception.

[2] From a top price of 5000 Baht a rai in 1974 irrigated land in Ban Pong had doubled in value to 10,000 Baht a rai by 1981.

Table 44

Changing Distribution of Holding Size, Ban Pong: I

Area owned	Current Landowners	Landowning Parents	Landowning Grandparents
under 5 *rai*	44.0%	16.0%	6.0%
5-9 *rai*	26.6	32.5	19.0
10-14 *rai*	11.9	24.0	31.0
15-19 *rai*	3.5	9.5	19.0
20-29 *rai*	7.0	8.5	14.0
30 *rai* & over	7.0	9.5	10.5
Mode (in *rai*)	4.5	9.5	12.0

Although the general pattern shown in Table 44 is more or less as expected, it is possible that the overlapping of generations mentioned earlier might mask internal variations. In order to minimise this problem, and to provide a more detailed impression of changes over time, the data were re-analysed in terms of five 'generations', as follows:

1. Current landowners aged 20-39.
2. Current landowners aged 40-59 and landowning parents of householders aged 20-39.
3. Current landowners aged 60 and over, landowning parents of householders aged 40-59 and landowning grandparents of householders aged 20-39.
4. Landowning parents of householders aged 60 and over and landowning grandparents of householders aged 40-59.
5. Landowning grandparents of householders aged 60 and over.

Analysis of landholding size according to these five 'generations' thus provides a more detailed picture of changing patterns since the settlement of Ban Pong, with 'generation' 5 representing the first settlers during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Table 45

Changing Distribution of Holding Size, Ban Pong: II

Area owned	'Generations' 1	2	3	4	5
under 5 *rai*	89.0%	53.0%	29.0%	19.0%	7.0%
5-9 *rai*	11.0	21.0	27.0	22.0	16.0
10-14 *rai*	-	8.0	18.5	19.5	48.5
15-19 *rai*	-	6.0	12.0	12.0	12.0
20-29 *rai*	-	7.0	5.0	11.5	6.5
30 *rai* & over	-	5.0	8.5	16.0	10.0
Mode (in *rai*)	3.5	5	10	12	13
Range (in *rai*)	1-8	1-78	1-110	1-89	4-96

Table 45 shows quite dramatically the changes occurring in holding size over the nine decades since the settlement of Ban Pong. The earliest settlers, as represented by 'generation' 5, include a majority with middle-sized holdings, with almost 50% owning between 10 and 14 *rai*. In 'generation' 4, there is a considerable increase in the proportion of both larger holdings, over 20 *rai*, and of very small holdings, under 5 *rai*. In 'generation' 3, the proportion of larger holdings had declined substantially, while there had been a further increase in the proportion of very small holdings. In 'generation' 2, almost 75% of landowning households had less than 10 *rai*, and in 'generation' 1, this proportion had risen to 100%, with almost 90% owning under 5 *rai*.

7.4 Present-day Patterns of Land Tenure in Ban Pong

At the time of my land tenure survey in August 1974, there were 460 households in Ban Pong, owning a total of 1504 rai (602 acres or 241 hectares). Given the population of the Village in that year (2090), this would mean an average of 0.7 rai for each man, woman and child, an area barely large enough to provide rice for minimal subsistence needs[1]. However, irrigated land was distributed on a far from equal basis, and the 1504 rai[2] were owned by only 140 households (30.5% of 460)[3]. The distribution of areas of land owned by these households is presented in Table 46.

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[1] In this chapter, I have taken the minimum annual per capita requirement of milled rice as 150 ks. Given average yields and milling ratios in Ban Pong, one rai might be expected to provide about 180 kilos of milled rice. However, as Dixon has pointed out (1974:13-19), there are many other non-consumption uses of rice which can as much as double per capita requirements.

[2] In Ban Pong Valley there is considerable overlap of land owned by different villages, and in some cases a landlord with fields far from his home village might hire a tenant from another, more conveniently located village. There are also a number of landlords living outside the Valley. The most notable absentee landlords in 1974, were the descendants of Cao Rachabut, son of a former governor of Chiengmai, whose 560 rai in Ban Pong Valley have been divided between his children and grandchildren. Most of this land is in the far north of the Valley near to Village 4, Ban Wang Deng. A certain Nai Phǫngpan Inta'kaecha from Chiengmai is said to own more than 300 rai in the area of villages 10 and 5, Ban Nǫng Ǫn and Ban Muang Kham. Although there are many other absentee landlords owning land in the Valley, they do not own holdings on such a large scale. Kamnan Montri and his father estimated that some 200 rai farmed by tenants in Ban Pong were owned by absentee landlords.

[3] Three other households owned land outside Ban Pong Valley, all under 5 rai. These holdings have been excluded from the analysis except in Tables 44 and 45.

Table 46

Ownership of Irrigated Fields, Ban Pong, 1974

Area owned (rai)	No.of House holds	Total rai owned	Prop.of all rai owned	Prop. of landowning households	Prop. of all village households
Landless[1]	320	-	-	-	69.5%
Under 5 rai	60	182.25	12.0%	43.0%	13.0
5-9	38	239.25	16.0	27.1	8.3
10-14	17	194.50	13.0	12.1	3.7
15-19	5	91.25	6.1	3.6	1.1
20-29	10	217.25	14.4	7.1	2.2
30 & over	10	579.50	38.5	7.1	2.2
Total	460	1504	100%	100%	100%

The substantial inequality of land distribution in Ban Pong is clearly shown in Table 46 with, at the lower end of the scale, 43% of landowning households owning only 12% of the land and, at the other end, 7% of landowning households owning over 38% of the land[2]. As Dixon has pointed

[1] This included 99 tenant households (21.5%), 176 households dependent on wage labour (38.3%) and 45 'other'. For breakdown of this category see p.332 below.

[2] The inequality of land distribution in Ban Pong would seem to be much greater than in many other parts of the North. For example, in Turton's study village in Chiengrai Province (in 1969/70), 74% of 180 households owned some land; 61% of landowners had holdings of under 10 rai, and 17.3% had more than 20 rai (Turton, 1976:116, Table 2-10). Only 15 households in the village were landless tenants (8.3% of 180), and 30 were dependent on wage labour (16.7% of 180) (ibid:115, Table 2-9). The proportion of households owning land in Ku Daeng (in 1971/2) was only slightly lower than in Turton's village: 67.5% of 206 households. However, the distribution of land was more even, with 83% of landowning households having less than 10 rai, and no household owning more than 29 rai. Twenty-eight of the landless households were tenants (13.6% of 206), and the remaining 39 were dependent on wage labour (18.9% of 206) (Potter, 1976:57, Table 4). However, two other studies of villages nearer to Ban Pong indicate much higher rates of landlessness. The village studied by Tanabe (in 1974/75) in Mae Rim District included only 77 landowning households out of a total of 233 (33%. Tanabe, 1981:231, Table 17), while in South Village, Mae Taeng District, studied by Wijeyewardene (in 1964) only 13 out of 74 households owned any land (17.6%. Wijeyewardene, 1966:26-30). The exceptional situation in South Village is a reflection of the high rate of absentee landlordism in this particular sub-district.

out (1974:26), the per capita holding figure is probably the most important indicator of the economic status of a landowning household. Unfortunately, in Ban Pong, where many households work and/or eat jointly with others, share tenancies, and give or receive support from other households in the Village and elsewhere, it proved to be an impossible task to interpret the figures realistically, particularly when factors such as variations in yield and milling ratios are taken into account. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the overwhelming majority of households with holdings of less than 5 rai do not produce sufficient rice for annual subsistence needs[1] (except in those cases where additional land is rented in, see Table 50 below), or, to use Dixon's terminology, they are 'deficit' producing households. More than half of those owning 5-9 rai would fall into the same category, the rest being 'balance' producers, that is only producing enough rice for subsistence needs. Perhaps half of the households with 10-15 rai would be 'balance' producers, the remainder 'surplus' producers. Those owning 15 rai or more would, in the large majority of cases, be surplus producers except under unusually bad weather conditions. As Dixon has noted:

> 'Farmers with low per capita holdings, even of land that is inherently fertile, and more intensively cultivated, have less insurance against unfavourable conditions. A similar percentage of damage for a farmer with a high per capita holding may still leave him in balance or even provide a surplus.' (ibid:26)

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[1] Villagers themselves would presumably support this assertion, in view of the high incidence of sale of holdings under 5 rai.

Of the 140 households owning irrigated fields in Ban Pong in 1974, 91 (65%) had inherited all, or part of their land. Thirty-eight of these households had increased their holdings by buying additional fields, while 39 households (28%) had bought all of their land. The remaining 10 landowning households (7%) had cleared their fields[1].

The years in which current landowners had obtained their land are given in Figure 13. These dates are approximate: for example, in the case of inherited fields, the land may have been farmed by heirs for some years prior to the death of the former owners, and may not have been officially divided until much later; farmers who had bought fields may have done so over a long period of time, particularly those with very large holdings, while those who cleared their land are likely to have done so over a number of years. In Figure 13 I have given the approximate date at which each household became landowning for the first time, and at the same time I have indicated their eventual holding size[2]. The enduring dominance of some of the early accumulators is clearly shown, with 6 of the 10 current landowners with 30 or more rai having started to consolidate their holdings more than 40 years ago. Case studies, describing the process of land acquisition of four of the major landowners in Ban Pong will be presented in the following section[3].

In Tables 47, 48 and 49, land owned by current landowners is analysed according to the time of first acquisition and mode of acquisition.

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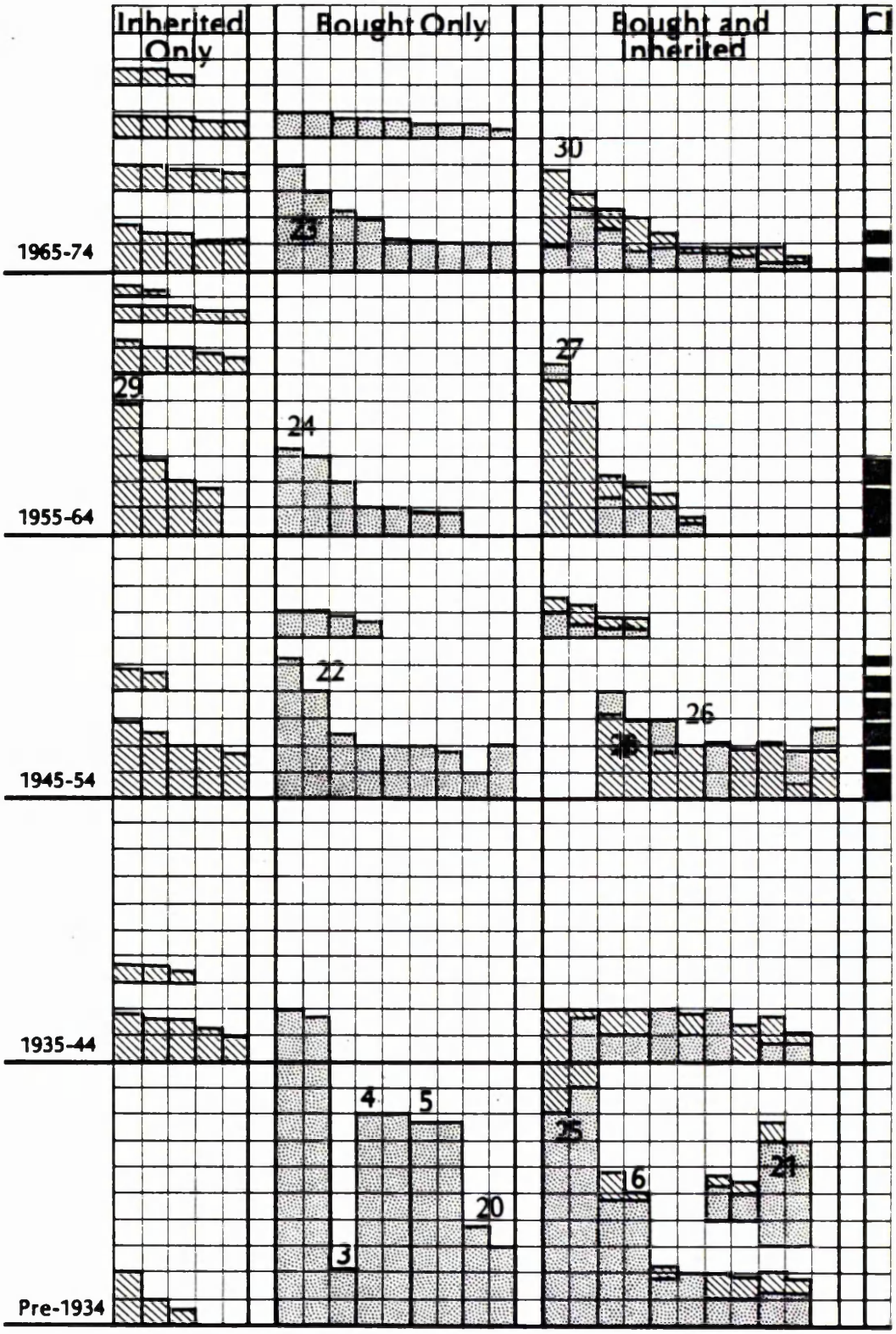
[1] As noted earlier, in most cases these recently cleared fields were on the margins of the irrigable area in the Valley and received a very unreliable supply of water. Consequently average yields on these fields tended to be particularly low.

[2] In five cases, part of the holding had subsequently been sold or bequeathed. This is not illustrated in the Figure.

[3] Case studies of other major landowners in Ban Pong are given in Appendix 6.

Figure 13: Time and Mode of Acquisition of Land, Current Landowners, Ban Pong, 1974



Nos. refer to case studies in text, and in Appendix 6

Land Inherited Land Bought Land Cleared = 5 rai

Table 47

Mode and Time of First Acquisition of Landholding by Area Owned, Current Landowners, Ban Pong, 1974[1]

Time of 1st Acquisition	Inherited (rai)	Bought (rai)	Cleared (rai)	Total (rai)
1965-74	116.75	154.25	1	272
1955-64	157.75	97	13.25	268
1945-54	153.75	181	21	355.75
1935-44	83[2]	59.50	-	142.50
Pre-1934[3]	53	499.75	-	552.75
Total (rai)	564.25	991.50	35.25	1591[4]

Although, as noted earlier, 65% of current landowners had inherited all, or part of their land, in 1974 only 35% of all land owned had been acquired in this way (Table 48). The substantial and continuing impact of migrants to Ban Pong, on the pattern of land ownership in the community is seen by the fact that in 1974 slightly more than half of all land owned (821.75 rai), was currently in the hands of people born outside the Village. Sixty-seven percent of all land bought (666.50 rai) was owned by such migrants, as was 56% of land cleared. A further 146.50 rai owned by people born outside Ban Pong had been inherited, representing 26% of all land acquired in this way. In such cases the land had been bought or cleared by parents of current owners who had come to the village as children.

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[1] In Tables 47 and 48 property of the 38 households which had inherited and bought land has been split according to the mode of acquisition.

[2] It was noted earlier (p.296) that during the late 1930s and early 1940s, there was a great deal of sub-division of land in Ban Pong. The small area of land inherited at that time which is still in the possession of the inheritors in 1974, is indicative of the large number of farmers obtaining land during this period, who had subsequently been obliged to sell their holdings.

[3] I have not provided a separate category for land acquired prior to 1924 because none of the present-day landowners had started to build up their holdings earlier than 1920.

[4] As noted earlier, in 5 cases part of the holding has since been sold, or bequeathed outside the original owner's household. This accounts for the 87 rai in excess of the 1974 total land area of 1504 rai.

Table 48

Mode and Time of First Acquisition of Landholding as a Proportion of all Land Owned, Current Landowners, Ban Pong, 1974

Time of 1st Acquisition	Inherited	Bought	Cleared	Total
1965-74	7.4%	9.7%	0.1%	17.2%
1955-64	9.9	6.1	0.8	16.8
1945-54	9.7	11.4	1.3	22.4
1935-44	5.2	3.8	-	9.0
Pre-1934	3.3	31.3	-	34.6
Total	35.5	62.3	2.2	100%

Table 49

Mode and Time of First Acquisition of Landholding by Current Landowners, as a Proportion of All Current Landowners, Ban Pong, 1974

Time of 1st Acquisition	Inherited Only	Bought Only	Inherited & Bought	Cleared Only	Total
1965-74	13.7%	12.1%	7.1%	0.7%	33.6%
1955-64	11.6	4.3	3.6	1.4	20.9
1945-54	5.0	7.1	7.1	5.0	24.2
1935-44	5.7	1.4	4.3	-	11.4
Pre-1934	2.1	2.8	5.0	-	9.9
Total	38.1	27.7	27.1	7.1	100%

The figures presented in Tables 48 and 49 give further support to the assumption that a significant proportion of the land in Ban Pong was acquired, by purchase, prior to the Second World War by a minority of current landowners. Four of these wealthy landlords are described in the following Section.

7.5 Case Studies of Major Landlords in Ban Pong

Of seven major landlords in Ban Pong who had accumulated large holdings before the Second World War, four are particularly worthy of note here. Although many of the specific features of the way in which they achieved their position of economic power in Ban Pong are shared by other members of the village élite (see Cases 20 to 26 , Appendix 6), notably their early dominance of trade, most particularly in miang (see Chapter 8), which enabled them to build up sufficient capital to purchase numerous irrigated holdings in the Valley at a time when, as we have seen (p.296) many farmers were being forced to sell their land, the four households described below exhibit distinctive features which set them apart from all others in the community. First, they are all migrants from Doi Saket or Mu'ang Districts of Chiengmai who had come to Ban Pong in the first and second decades of this century. Second, they are all linked by close ties of kinship and intermarriage (see Figure 14). Third, they have strengthened their position of economic dominance in two important ways: they have achieved and maintained a monopoly on political power within the community since the 1920s (they include three generations of Ban Pong headmen)[1], and have effectively segregated themselves in terms of religious activity by founding and supporting a separate temple at the edge of the Village.

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[1] Their political power has extended beyond the Village. All three headmen were also kamnan (Sub-district chiefs) for Inthakhin. Potter, following an exhaustive survey of the literature, concludes that the coincidence of economic and political power is a prominent feature in villages throughout Thailand (1976:188).

Case 3: Phǫ Nan Srithǫn Sumda'im, House No. 221 : Landlord

In 1974, Phǫ Nan Srithǫn was one of Ban Pong's wealthiest landlords, owning 109 rai of irrigated land in the Valley. He had first come to Ban Pong in 1910, as a 14 year-old novice, from Ban Thi in Doi Saket District. Two years later his parents and three younger sisters came to join him. His father[1], Phǫ Ui Wang, set up Ban Pong's first market-place in 1918, and subsequently bought 20 rai of irrigated fields in the Valley. Meanwhile, after spending several years in Ban Pong Temple as a novice and monk, Srithǫn had become involved, together with his father, in various trading enterprises, particularly the sale of rice and miang. Aware of the considerable profits to be made from miang production, Srithǫn bought a number of orchards in the mountains of Chieng Dao, and quickly reaped the rewards. He had made enough money to buy his first plot of irrigated land (12 rai) in the Valley by about 1925. Over the following 10 years he bought a further four plots of 8, 15, 17 and 22 rai. When his father's 20 rai were divided after his death in 1947, Srithǫn waived his share of the inheritance, and it was divided between his three sisters (see Cases 4 and 6 below). However, he willingly accepted an inheritance of 5 of the 8 shares in the market-place which, by that time, had become a very lucrative concern[2]. In 1956 he added a further 30 rai to his holding, and finally 5 rai in 1965 when he sold his miang orchards.

He and his wife Yǫtru'an (daughter of his father's cousin and fellow migrant from Doi Saket, Phǫ Ui Hu'ang, see Figure 14 , below), had three children, a son and two daughters. His son proved to be a great disappointment to Srithǫn, being more interested in drinking and gambling than in helping with his father's business concerns. In 1974, Phǫ Nan Srithǫn (whose wife had died in 1948) was living with his two daughters, and the two children of his elder daughter[3]. His younger daughter, crippled as a result of a childhood polio, has never married (see Appendix 4).

Phǫ Nan Srithǫn's present-day holding of 109 rai is farmed by eleven tenant households, all of whom have a kin kha hua na[4] arrangement with him. In the dry season, his tenants grow tobacco and garlic on some of his land[5]. In addition to the income from his irrigated fields, Phǫ Nan Srithǫn also owns several houses which are rented out to other villagers, has several motor vehicles for hire and, at the age of 78, he was still involved in rice trading.

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[1] His grandfather was Tai Lu' from Sipsǫngphanna, who had migrated to Doi Saket in the mid-nineteenth century.

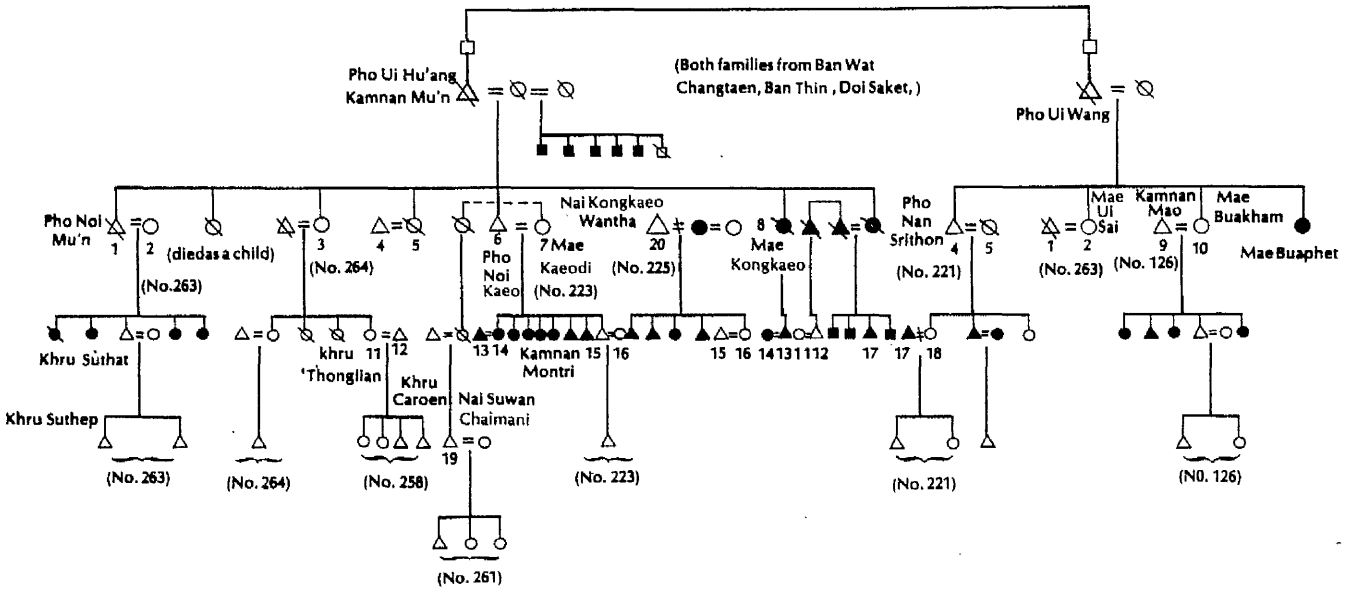
[2] His sisters each received one share in the market. When his youngest sister, Buaphet, moved to Chiengmai, he bought her share, increasing his own shares to six.

[3] She had married her cousin, her mother's youngest sister's son (see Figure 14), and was divorced in 1965.

[4] This form of tenancy involves the payment of a fixed amount of paddy regardless of annual fluctuations in yield (see p.320, below).

[5] The cultivation of non-rice crops is discussed in Section 7.10 below (pp.342-345).

Figure 14: Genealogy for Case Studies 3, 4, 5, 6, 22 and 23.



1 and 2 : 80 rai, Case no. 4

3 : sold 14 rai, now Landless

4 and 5 : 109 rai, Case no. 3

6 and 7 : 78 rai, bequeathed 54, Case no. 5

8 : 39 rai, moved to Doi Saket

9 and 10 : 53 rai, sold 30 Case no. 6

11 and 12 : Landless, teachers (my fieldwork home)

19 : 43 rai, sold 10 Case no. 23

20 : 46 rai, divided on divorce, case no. 22

● ▲ ■ Moved out of Ban Pong

Nos.in parentheses refer to house number, see Village Map. 7

Pho : father Pho Ui : grandfather Nan : former monk

Mae : mother Mae Ui : grandmother Noi : former novice

Kamnan : sub- district headman Khru : teacher

Phǫ Nan Srithǫn has written a will[1] bequeathing his land, in five shares, to be divided between his two daughters, his elder daughter's two children, and his son's only child[2]. His son, who moved to San Pa Tǫng District after marrying in 1958, is excluded from the inheritance.

Case 4: Mae Ui Sai Chaimongkhon, House No. 263 : Landlord

Mae Ui Sai is a younger sister of Phǫ Nan Srithǫn. In 1974 she was 74 years old and owned 80 rai of irrigated land in the Valley. She had come to Ban Pong from Doi Saket, with her parents and two younger sisters, in 1912. Four years later, she married the eldest son of Phǫ Ui Hu'ang, her father's cousin, shortly before Srithǫn married her husband's younger sister (see Figure 14). Mae Ui Sai and her husband, Phǫ Nǫi Mu'n, bought a number of miang orchards shortly after their marriage, and soon became prominent miang traders. During the late 1920s and 1930s, they bought several plots of irrigated land in the Valley, totalling 80 rai, on the proceeds of their miang trading. When Mae Ui Sai's father died in 1947, she sold her 7 rai inheritance to make merit (tham bun) on his behalf, and also on behalf of her husband who had died in the same year.

The two closely-linked migrant families, of Phǫ Ui Hu'ang and Phǫ Ui Wang, were devout Buddhists, and (according to Mae Ui Sai) were dissatisfied with the religious standards of the monks at Ban Pong's central temple. In 1929 therefore, they financed the foundation of a second temple, on the hillside to the far south of the village, for members of the Aranyawiwek sect of ascetic forest monks[3]. In the 1970s this temple remained an exclusive place of worship, used and supported by this elite group of wealthy landowners. Mae Ui Sai has made her own individual mark on the temple (and gained abundant merit thereby), by providing the funds for the construction of a cedi (stupa, or sacred shrine) to enclose a Phra'boroma that ('most precious sacred relic of the Lord Buddha'), in the grounds of the forest temple, in 1969[4].

Of her four surviving children only one, a son, Khru Suthat, is still in Ban Pong, living with his family in Mae Ui Sai's household. He is a teacher at the school in Ban Chǫ Lae, and his elder son, Suthep, is a teacher in Ban Hang Dong. Mae Ui Sai's three daughters live in Chiengmai city. She plans to divide her land equally between her four children, but her son will inherit the family home. In 1974 her 80 rai were farmed by 10 tenant households, some of whom cultivated garlic and shallots in the dry season.

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[1] In general, it is only the very wealthy landlords in Ban Pong who write wills. Small landowners normally communicate their wishes verbally, and trust it to their heirs to respect their wishes after death. According to the law, if no will exists, a property is divided equally between all surviving heirs.

[2] He lives in San Pa Tǫng District with his parents.

[3] Apparently the establishment of an exclusive place of worship by members of wealthy families is not uncommon in this District (Wijeyewardene, personal communication).

[4] Details of an illness, during which Mae Ui Sai vowed that she would build the cedi if she were to recover, and the subsequent search for the relic, and its installation, are contained in a booklet produced by Mae Ui Sai and her family entitled Thi ralu'k nai kan tham bun chalǫng ong phra'cedi samnak aranyawiwek, Ban Pong (Chiengmai, 2512).

Case 5: Phø Nøi Kaeo Chaimongkhon, House No. 223 : Landlord

Phø Nøi Kaeo, younger brother of Mae Ui Sai's husband and of Phø Nan Srithøn's wife (see Figure 14), came to Ban Pong from Doi Saket at the age of 14, with his family in 1916. His father, Phø Ui Hu'ang, became very rich from trading in miang during the 1920s and 1930s, and bought a large number of irrigated holdings in the Valley as well as miang orchards in Chieng Dao. His position in the growing community was greatly enhanced when he became kamnan (Sub-district headman) in the 1920s, remaining in the position until his death in the 1940s. On becoming kamnan, Phø Ui Hu'ang changed his name to Mu'n ('Ten thousand'). Although a fairly common name in the North, in this case (according to his family), it was adopted to reflect his wealth and high status. The name was also adopted later by his elder son (see Case 4).

Phø Ui Hu'ang's first wife (Phø Nøi Kaeo's mother), had died in 1908 whilst giving birth to her seventh child[1]. After moving his family to Ban Pong, Phø Ui Hu'ang re-married and had a further six children. At his death he bequeathed all his land to the children of his second wife, causing considerable ill-feeling among his older children, and in the community as a whole. Within a few years, the inheritors had all sold their land, and moved away, some to Chiengdao and others to Pua District in Nan Province.

In 1921, Phø Nøi Kaeo married Mae Kaeodi, who had recently moved to Ban Pong from Mu'ang Rang in Mu'ang District of Chiengmai. Together they earned enough money from trading in miang to buy irrigated holdings totalling 78 rai, and several miang gardens[2], whilst producing eight children (see Figure 14).

In 1963, Phø Nøi Kaeo and his wife decided to bequeath part of their land to their children to provide each of them with a regular income, retaining 25 rai for themselves. Thus 53 rai were divided between their eight children; the seven who had moved into the city received 6 rai each, while the youngest, Montri, still living with his parents in Ban Pong, received 11 rai.

In 1965, Montri, by then aged 25, married Phiphak, daughter of Nai Køngkaeo Wantha (see Case 22, Appendix 6), and the following year they had a son[3]. Montri, a landlord in his own right, rents out his 11 rai holding to a fellow villager. Phiphak has built up, and still runs, a well-stocked shop at the front of her parents-in-law's house.

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[1] Interestingly, this child, a girl, survived only to die herself in the same way, during the delivery of her third child.

[2] The miang gardens were sold in 1965.

[3] Shortly after the birth of her son in 1966, Phiphak began to take the contraceptive pill. She then took it, without interruption, until 1979, when she stopped in order to have a second child. Whilst still in hospital after giving birth to a daughter, she was sterilized. Phiphak is one of a very small number of women, most of them from wealthy households, who had already started to use contraception before the beginning of the Family Planning Programme in 1967 (see Chapter 5).

In 1973, elections were held for headman of Ban Pong and kamnan of Inthakhin Sub-district, following the enforced resignation[1] of Kamnan Mao, who had previously held both posts (see Case 6). Montri, an ambitious young man, who with 12 years' education[2], a secure economic position, and status as the grandson of former kamnan, Phǫ Ui Mu'n, presented powerful opposition to the other, older candidates[3], and succeeded in being voted to both positions.

In 1974, Phǫ Nǫi Kaeo sold 12 of his remaining 25 rai in order to buy a house plot in the city. He and his wife have had a house built there, and they plan to divide their time between Chiengmai and Ban Pong.

Case 6: Phǫ Kamnan Mao Suriya'wan, House No.126 : Landlord

Phǫ Kamnan Mao was born in Ban Chang Yǫng, in Mu'ang District of Chiengmai. He came to Ban Pong alone as a young man, in 1923, in search of land. Shortly after his arrival he married Nang Buakham, younger sister of Phǫ Nan Srithǫn and Mae Ui Sai (see Figure 14). With money accumulated from trading, initially in rice and later in other cash crops, he bought 5 plots of irrigated land totalling 46 rai, during the late 1920s and 1930s. This was increased to 53 rai when Nang Buakham inherited 7 rai from her father in 1947. After the construction of the main road to Chiengmai in the early 1940s, trade with the city markets was greatly facilitated, and Phǫ Kamnan Mao was one of the first people in Ban Pong to buy a vehicle for transporting cash crops. In the early 1960s, at a time when rice prices were low, he sold 30 rai of his land and invested the proceeds in buying more vehicles. By 1973 he owned a fleet of 3 lorries and 2 smaller vehicles which he rents out to farmers in Ban Pong and other villages in the valley.

A highly respected member of the community, Phǫ Kamnan Mao had been kamnan of Inthakhin Sub-district since the death of Phǫ Ui Mu'n in the late 1940s, until his enforced resignation in 1973. He and his wife have five surviving children, four of whom have left Ban Pong. Their fourth child, Manop[4], aged 38, lives with his wife and daughter in Phǫ Kamnan Mao's house. In addition, four young men, non-kin, live in the household as luk cang (hired hands) to help with the transportation business. Phǫ Kamnan Mao's remaining 23 rai are rented out on a kin kha hua basis to two tenants. Apart from his other sources of income, Phǫ Kamnan Mao is a major money-lender in the village, giving loans at 5% interest per month (in 1973-74).

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[1] New legislation, introduced in 1973, ruled that holders of minor administrative posts should retire by age 60. (At a time when the two most powerful men in the country were well into their 70s, this was considered to be rather unreasonable!)

[2] The overwhelming majority of villagers have 4 years education, or less.

[3] In 1981 he still held both posts, having been re-elected a few years earlier. Although theoretically the kamnan of a sub-district can be elected from any of the villages within it, in the case of Inthakhin the kamnan has always been from Ban Pong.

[4] Manop's wife, Takham, is one of the first women in Ban Pong to have used family planning. She has been on the pill since the birth of her daughter in 1962.

7.6 Patterns of Land Tenure Among Smallholders in Ban Pong

The related processes of sub-division of land on the one hand, and accumulation of large holdings by a minority of landlords on the other, are clearly evident in the Ban Pong data. As we have seen, in 1974 70% of landowning households in the Village had less than 10 rai. For many of these farmers, whose holdings are too small to produce a surplus even under optimum conditions, who lack the capital needed to purchase fertiliser in order to increase yields, and who commonly face ever-increasing debts, the struggle to avoid the one-way path to landlessness becomes more intense as the cost of living rises. Strategies adopted by two such smallholders, in an attempt to maintain their position as landowners in the Village, are outlined in the case studies below.

Case 7: Nai Thip and Nang Fong Phuthima, House No. 51 : Owner-tenants

Nai Thip and Nang Fong were both born in Ban Pong in the early 1930s. Thip's father, Pho Ui Niu, had come to Ban Pong from San Pa Tong District in 1918 with his aunt and uncle. Pho Ui Niu's parents had owned 5 rai in San Pa Tong, but bequeathed it all to their youngest son who had cared for them in their old age. Pho Ui Niu bought 11 rai in Ban Pong in the early 1940s. In 1968 he decided to bequeath his land to his three sons, 4 rai to the older two (one of whom was Thip) and 3 rai to the youngest. Nang Fong's maternal grandparents had cleared 24 rai in Ban Pong at the turn of the century, and this was later divided between their three children. In 1963, Fong's mother died, and her 8 rai holding was divided among six children. Fong and her oldest brother each received 2 rai, while the four younger brothers received 1 rai, and a quarter share in the parental home. Fong and her husband subsequently bought all four house-shares from her brothers. In addition to their own combined holdings totalling 6 rai, Thip and Fong rent a further 10 rai from a neighbour on a beng khru'ng[1] basis. They grow tobacco in the dry season on 1 rai of their land, and also own two oxen, and raise pigs and chickens. They have not yet decided how they will divide their land between their six children[2].

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[1] 'To divide into two halves'. Under such agreements the harvest is shared equally between landlord and tenant (see p.320, below).

[2] Nang Fong used contraception for 2 years but stopped to have her sixth child. Her two sisters-in-law have never used contraception.

Case 8: Nang Pǫng Mu'angkaeo, House No.24 : Owner Tenant

Nang Pǫng came to Ban Pong as a young girl in the late 1920s, from Mae Faek in San Sai District, with her parents who bought 5 rai of irrigated land in Ban Pong. When her mother died in 1958, the land was divided between Pǫng and her two elder brothers, each receiving 1½ rai. The older brother sold his share to Pǫng and left the village shortly after the death of their mother. The second brother has since died and his only son has inherited the share. The land is in a poor location, far from the canal, and can not be cultivated in the dry season. As well as farming her 3 rai holding, Pǫng and her husband Nai Ta (a landless migrant from Lamphun who came to Ban Pong with his mother in the late 1930s), rent a further 5 rai from a neighbour on a beng khru'ng basis. They cultivate the two plots together with their eldest son[1], Sanan (House No.24/1), using reciprocal labour (see p.319 below). Since the late 1960s they have been clearing an upland field (3 rai in 1974), where they are able to plant some cash crops and hill rice. They own two oxen which are used to plough their fields. With six children, five of whom still live in Ban Pong, they realise that their land will be insufficient to sub-divide, but they have not yet decided how to tackle the problem.

Although perhaps a majority of households in the village might be categorised as 'downwardly mobile', in terms of their landowning status, as noted earlier, there is evidence of some upward mobility in cases of formerly landless households who have recently acquired small land holdings. Thirty-one of Ban Pong's current landowners (22%) are from landless families, or families in which the parental holding had been sold. These include nine families who had cleared their land[2], and one woman who inherited 2 rai from her husband. The remaining 21 new landowners had bought their land. Sixteen of them had been born outside Ban Pong, and in the majority of cases the area bought or cleared was 5 rai or less. Seventeen of the owners had acquired their land within the last fifteen years. Two such cases are presented below.

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[1] Such cases of joint farming appear to be widespread in Thailand, see Mizumo (1978:98).

[2] As mentioned earlier, land cleared in recent decades is marginal and in most cases the owner has not registered the land, and thus has no legal rights to it (see Chapter 6, p.285). For example, Nai Di Phakdi (House No.295), who cleared 4 rai in the early 1950s, was notified by the kamnan in 1975 that his land was to be taken over for grazing of village animals. Nai Di had to give up his land and received no compensation.

Case 9: Nai Mi and Nang Sao Thongdi, House No.218 : New Owners

Nai Mi and his wife were both born in Ban Pong in the late 1930s of landless migrant families. Nai Mi's mother, Mae Ui Muan (House No. 176/1), had come from Lampang in 1910. Nang Sao's mother, Mae Ui Pui Mu'nsiri (House No.154), had come from Lamphun in 1935. Since their marriage in 1960, Mi and Sao have worked as tenants on 9 rai belonging to kin of Mi, on a beng khru'ng basis. They also cleared 1½ rai of upland, to the west of the village (see Section 7.9) in the late 1960s.[1] They own three buffalo and two oxen, which they rent out to other farmers[1], and also raise pigs, selling pork in Ban Pong and neighbouring villages. With these various enterprises, they managed to save 20,000฿, and in 1974 they bought their first holding of 5 rai in the valley. They have two young children[2], and in 1973, their son was a dek wat(temple boy) at the central village temple.

Case 10: Nai Phut and Nang Thip Takhan, House No. 306 : New Owners

Nai Phut came from Lamphun with his parents as a young man in the early 1940s. His wife Nang Thip was born in Ban Pong in 1935. Neither family had land in Ban Pong. Since their marriage in 1957, Phut and Thip have worked as tenants of Phọ Nọi Oo Phromathet (see Case No. 20, Appendix 6), farming 13 rai on a beng khru'ng basis and using reciprocal labour. In 1970 they bought 3 rai of upland on which they grow peanuts and garlic. They raise livestock, and in 1973 owned 2 oxen, 2 pigs, 5 chickens and more than 100 ducks[3]. In 1974 they bought a 3 rai irrigated holding for 12,000฿. They have two sons[4], aged 14 and 16, who have helped their parents with their agricultural enterprises since leaving school.

Apart from those who aspire to obtain land through purchase, a number of householders in Ban Pong have landowning parents, living elsewhere in the village, and might therefore expect to inherit land in the future[5]. Of these 59 households (13% of all in the Village) eleven already own land

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[1] The rental of buffalo for ploughing is paid at a rate of 5 tang per rai, a significant proportion of overall yield. It is therefore desirable for an owner-cultivator or tenant to have his own animals.

[2] Nang Sao is an early family planning user, and has had an IUD since the birth of her youngest child in 1962.

[3] For an interesting discussion of the economics of poultry farming, see Dixon (1974:17-18).

[4] Nang Thip has used contraception since 1967 when the McCormick team first opened their clinic in the Village.

[5] A further 68 landless householders had parents who previously owned land, but have since sold it.

in their own right, in some cases having received a partial inheritance from their parents[1]. However, the prospects for most of the aspiring inheritors are not good, since the size of the holdings involved is, in most cases, extremely small, or the number of surviving heirs large, so that excessive sub-division is inevitable. Some sibling groups have made advance plans for one of them to buy the shares of the rest. Whether this happens, or whether the land is eventually fragmented into unmanageably small plots, the majority of these prospective heirs will remain landless in the long term.

Thirty-four currently landless households (7.4% of all in the Village) previously owned land which they have since sold. In eighteen cases the holdings were under 5 rai, and all but 4 were under 10 rai. In the majority of cases the land had been sold because the owners had accumulated serious debts (13 cases), or because the holding was too small to farm economically (8 cases). In five cases the land had been sold because the owner was moving to Ban Pong (4 of these migrants were from Lamphun), and five others had sold their land because they were too old to farm it and had no heirs remaining in the Village. Three other people had sold small plots of land in order to purchase a house or garden plot. The sale of 11 of the plots had occurred within the last ten years, a further 11 between 10 and 30 years ago, and the remaining 12 had been sold before the Second World War.

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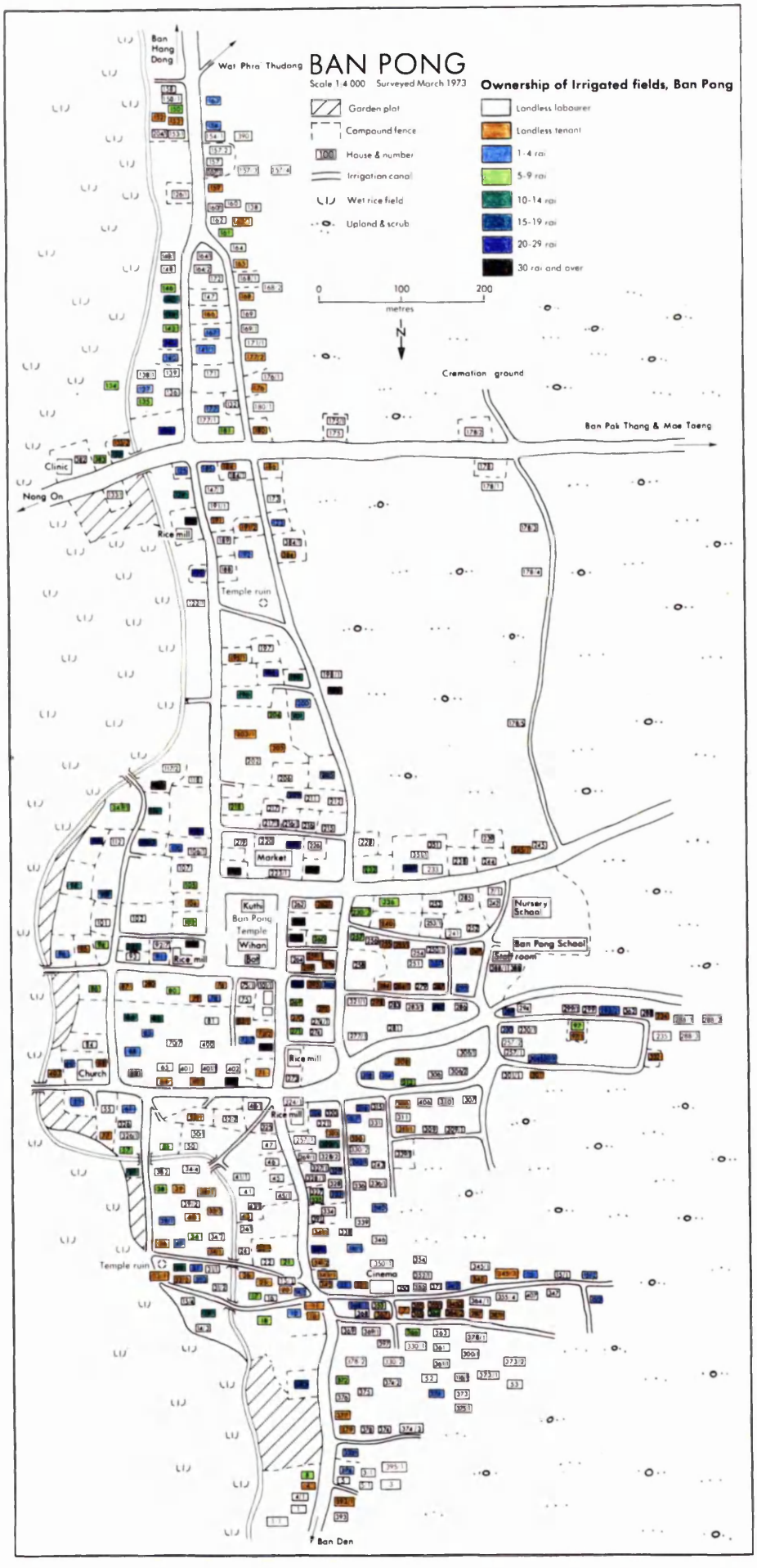
[1] Turton has argued that before 1950, land was unlikely to be transmitted to children before the death of parents (1976:60) but that since that time, early inheritance has occurred in about one case in three (ibid:91). He attributes this change to a number of factors including the decreased availability of land, the increase in size of some holdings and the desire of the young to participate actively in market production (ibid).


BAN PONG
Scale 1:4 000 Surveyed March 1973
Ownership of Irrigated fields, Ban Pong
Garden plot
Compound fence
House & number
Irrigation canal
Wet rice field
Upland & scrub
Landless labourer
Landless tenant
1-4 rai
5-9 rai
10-14 rai
15-19 rai
20-29 rai
30 rai and over
0 100 200
metres
N
Ban Hong Dong
Wat Phra Thudong
Cremation ground
Ban Pak Thang & Mae Taeng
Clinic
Nong On
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Market
Kuthi
Ban Pong Temple
Wihan
Bot
Nursery School
Ban Pong School
Staff room
Church
Cinema
Ban Den

MAP 12

Ownership of Irrigated Fields, Ban Pong

7.7 Agricultural Labour and Tenancy in Ban Pong

From the case studies presented above, it will have become clear that agricultural labour in Ban Pong can be acquired in a number of different ways, which tend to vary according to the size of the holding involved. Apart from domestic labour, agricultural tasks may be performed either by members of reciprocal labour groups, by tenants, or by wage labourers, or by any combination of these. The way in which such systems operate in Ban Pong are described below.

Reciprocal labour groups, known locally as mu tɔp wan kan (lit. 'group reciprocating the day together'), and elsewhere in the North as ao mu' kan, ao wan tɔp wan and ao mu' sai mu' (see Potter, 1976:42-47 and Tanabe, 1981:430-442), generally include households farming landholdings of a similar size. Tanabe has estimated the average range in size of such groups as between 2 and 15 households (ibid:433). The most important factors in the establishment of labour exchange relationships, according to Tanabe, are kinship, particularly between siblings (of both husband and wife[1]), cultivation of adjacent or nearby plots[2], and 'fellowship' ('kan pen phi nɔng kan'. Ibid: 433-435). Reciprocal labour groups are most common among small owner-cultivators and tenants[3], who tend to exchange labour with other households of the same economic status (i.e. owner-cultivator with owner-cultivator, tenant with tenant). Thus Tanabe has asserted:

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[1] I would argue though, that given more traditional residence patterns, in which uxorilocality predominates, reciprocal labour groups are likely to have a strongly matrilateral bias (see Chapter 9).

[2] Again, given traditional patterns of inheritance, which, although ideally bilateral, tend to produce a strongly matrilateral bias (see Chapter 9), adjacent plots would very likely belong to female siblings or cousins.

[3] Tanabe has estimated that 60% of owner-cultivators, and 95% of tenants, in his study area of Chiengmai, belong to reciprocal labour groups (ibid:437-438).

> '...the horizontal alliance within near-equal status groups in the same generation is characteristic of labour exchange arrangements.' (ibid:440)

Tenancy, on the other hand, is necessarily based on vertical relationships. In Ban Pong, tenancies can be arranged in two ways. The first, known as beng khru'ng (lit. 'to divide into two halves') involves an equal division of the harvest between landlord and tenant. The second, kin kha hua na (lit. 'to eat the value of the head of the paddy field') requires the tenant to pay a fixed rental in kind to the landlord, regardless of yield. In most cases this amounted (in 1973-74) to a little more than half of an average year's yield.

Most people in Ban Pong, including landlords and tenants, regarded beng khru'ng as the fairer arrangement, since it guaranteed at least some rice for the tenant from all but the most disastrous harvests. In this way, the risks of annual fluctuations in yield are shared by landlord and tenant. Kin kha hua na, on the other hand, while giving the tenant the chance to make a profit from the occasional bumper harvest, also involves the risk of his receiving no rice at all in a bad year[1]. As Tanabe has pointed out (ibid:123), most subsistence peasants tend to prefer to maximise security and survival rather than to maximise profit. However, it would seem that many tenants in Ban Pong operate in a situation of considerably greater risk than others elsewhere in the North, in view of the fact that fixed rental in kind (i.e. kin kha hua na as described for Ban Pong) is, according to Tanabe, not representative of tenancies in the North (ibid:122).

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[1] In 1973, when unusually bad weather conditions caused widespread losses in the main rice crop (see Appendix 7) Phǫ Nan Srithǫn (see Case Study 3), whose fields produced only slightly more than half of their normal yield in that year, agreed to deviate from his usual practice of fixed rental in kind and took only half of the actual harvest. Changes in tenancy laws introduced in 1974-75, and their effects on landlords such as Phǫ Nan Srithǫn, are discussed below (p.330).

In Tanabe's study area in Mae Rim District (immediately to the south of Mae Taeng, see Map 4), kha hua tenancies involve the payment of a fixed proportion of gross production and are thus sensitive to fluctuations in yield in the same way as beng khru'ng tenancies (ibid:120)[1]. Furthermore, Tanabe points out that in the past kha hua tenancies in Mae Rim involved payment of as little as 10-20% of the harvest, though this proportion has increased to as much as 50% since the mid 1960s (ibid).

The existence of a large body of wage labourers, khon hap cang, in Ban Pong, has been emphasised frequently in this thesis. In many cases such landless labourers are descendants of smallholders or landless tenants, or have lost land themselves as a result of severe indebtedness. At times of peak labour need in the agricultural cycle, such as transplanting and harvesting, labourers compete with each other for work at a daily wage, in cash or in kind. Case studies of landless labourers are given in Section 7.8 below. As Tanabe has pointed out, the increasing dependency on wage labour in the agricultural sphere, reflecting the rapid penetration of the cash economy in the North since the 1960s, has been a major factor in the decline in importance of reciprocal labour groups in the Region (ibid:441. See also Turton, 1976:178).

The utilisation of different types of labour, by landowning households in Ban Pong, is presented in Table 50 below.

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[1] Turton's analysis of tenancy in Chiengrai Province reveals a similar emphasis in kin kha hua arrangements to that described by Tanabe (Turton, 1976: 89).

Table 50

Labour Utilisation by Holding Size, Ban Pong, 1974

Area owned (rai)	Rent Out		Owner-cultivators			
	BK[1]	KKH[1]	Domestic Labour Only	Reciprocal Labour[2]	Hired Labour[2]	Rent In
less than 5 rai (60)	1	4	25	27	15	28(+1)[3]
5-9 (38)	8	7	9	11	7	4
10-14 (17)	1	6	2	6	2	2
15-19 (5)	-	4	-	(1)[4]	(1)[4]	-
20-29 (10)	4	5	-	1	-	-
30 rai and over (10)	1(+3)[5]	5(+3)[5]	-	-	1	-
Total (140)	15(+3)	31(+3)	36	45(+1)	25(+1)	34(+1)

All but five of the farmers with holdings under 5 rai work the land themselves using domestic labour either exclusively (42%) or in combination with reciprocal labour and/or hired labour (50%). Almost half of the smallholders rent additional fields (of between 5 and 15 rai) in order to produce sufficient rice to provide for domestic needs (see Cases 7 and 8 above). In one case, a farmer su' lang na (lit. 'to buy the back of the paddy field'), a temporary arrangement whereby a piece of land is 'bought' for cash, for an agreed number of years, during which time the 'buyer' has full rights to the produce of the land. This usually occurs in the case of an owner of a very small plot who needs ready cash but wishes to avoid

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[1] BK = beng khru'ng; KKH = kin kha hua.

[2] These categories overlap in some cases.

[3] su' lang na. For explanation see text.

[4] One household using both reciprocal and hired labour.

[5] Three cases with mixed tenancy arrangements.

getting into debt by taking a loan, or having to sell the land entirely. Villagers were generally reluctant to admit to such arrangements, but it is said to have become increasingly common in recent years[1].

Twenty percent of landowners with medium-sized holdings of 5-14 rai farmed their land using domestic labour only, while a further 40% used reciprocal and/or hired labour at peak working periods. The other 40% rented their land out either on a beng khru'ng or a kin kha hua basis. Only 11% of them rented in additional land. Almost 90% of those with 15 rai or more rented out their land. The three exceptions were: a large extended household with ten members farming their 22 rai using the reciprocal labour system only (House No.141)[2]; an elderly couple owning 35 rai which is farmed entirely by hired labour (House No.69, see Case 28 Appendix 6); and a household of five, owning 19½ rai who use reciprocal and hired labour (House No.237, see Case 30, Appendix 6).

In 1974, 133 households in Ban Pong (30%) worked as tenants, in most cases renting holdings between 5 and 15 rai. The current land ownership status of these households is presented in Table 51.

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[1] Wijeyewardene found one such case in 'South Village' in 1964 (personal communication). The one case I was able to record was of Mae Mun La'okit (House No. 106), a widow who owned 2½ rai. In 1974 she 'sold' it for 500฿ a year for three years. This would have been quite profitable for the 'buyer' since the expected harvest would be worth about 6 times the 'purchase' price. For a discussion of su'lang na see Turton (1976:90).

[2] This family are migrants from Lamphun living in the southern section of Ban Pong in which the majority of households are also migrants from Lamphun. The group is extremely tightly-knit, a situation which is being perpetuated by a high incidence of intergroup marriage (see Chapter 4, p.175, footnote 1).

Table 51

Land Ownership Status of Tenant Households, Ban Pong, 1974

Status of Household	Parents had land Bequeathed	Sold	Parents still have land	Parents landless	Total
Own land now	19	-	5	10	34
Sold land	5	-	-	-	5
Never had land	-	13	32	49	94
Total	24	13	37	59	133

Examples of owner-tenants (who constitute 25% of all tenants) were given earlier in Case Studies 7 and 8 (pp.314-315). The ten owner-tenants whose parents were landless included three who had cleared their own land, and seven who had bought land, all within the last ten years (e.g. see cases 9 and 10, p.316). All 32 landless tenant households whose parents still own land work on their parents' fields (16 on the wife's parents' land, and 16 on the husband's parents' land)[1]. A further twenty tenants farm the land of their grandparents (2 cases) or other kin (18 cases), and the remainder farm the land of non-kin (81 cases, 61% of all tenant households).

Although twice as many landowners in Ban Pong who rented out their land reported using the kin kha hua system as opposed to beng khru'ng, tenants themselves reported an equal incidence of the two arrangements.[2]

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[1] These data reflect Tanabe's findings for Mae Rim, where small-scale tenancies between kinsmen, particularly between parents and their sons and daughters, were extremely common (1981:119-120).

[2] I was unable to resolve this discrepancy because of the overlap in tenancy relationships between Ban Pong and neighbouring villages, and the existence of a number of absentee landlords (see p.301, footnote 2).

However, of those tenants farming the land of their parents or other kin, two out of every three had a beng khru'ng arrangement, reflecting the more traditional and fairer nature (at least in Ban Pong) of this form of tenancy. Only about one half of tenants in Ban Pong participate in the reciprocal labour system with other tenants and, in a small number of cases, with owner-cultivators. The remainder depend mainly on domestic labour and occasionally hired labour. For example, Nai Song Luangsa (House No.34/1), who farms 11 rai of Phǫ Nǫi Oo Phromathet on a beng khru'ng basis (see Case 20, Appendix 6), does the initial planting himself, hires one labourer per rai at 20฿ per rai (in 1974) for transplanting, does the weeding himself, then hires four labourers for three days at 15฿ a day each[1], to help with the harvesting, and finally does the threshing himself together with his wife and two step children[2]. The 12 rai holding rented by Nai Chao Canta'wali (House No.345), another tenant of Phǫ Nǫi Oo, is now farmed entirely by Nai Chao's two daughters and sons-in-law, together with their older children (House Nos.345/1 and 345/2). The older daughter, Kham, organises all necessary labour from within the family, and hires labour only at harvest time, at 7฿ a day plus food.

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[1] Daily wages for women in Ban Pong were up to one third lower than for men for performing the same task. Adolescents of both sexes would often earn even less than the low adult female wage.

[2] It is worthy of note that in the past in Ban Pong, the khae, a long bench made of slats of wood, was used for threshing by groups of ten or more people at one time. Threshing was very much a communal activity and was generally performed using the reciprocal labour system. Nowadays the khu, a large deep basket, is more commonly used, and only two, or at the most three workers can use it at one time. This probably reflects the dwindling size of holdings whose owners still use the reciprocal labour system, which is consequently on a much smaller scale than in the past. Use of wage labour for threshing on larger holdings inevitably lacks the communal atmosphere once so much a feature of harvest time (see Davis, 1974). Stoler (1977) gives a fascinating account of changes in harvesting practice in Indonesia, where one consequence of economic and demographic pressure has been the replacement of the traditional ani-ani, a short bladed knife which cuts each stalk individually, by the sickle. The substantial reduction in labour requirements resulting from this change is of considerable economic advantage to the landowner, but exacerbates problems of unemployment in the community as a whole.

Interestingly, it is the obligation to provide food for members of the reciprocal labour group which, according to Tanabe, has been a major factor in many poor farmers' decision to curtail participation in such groups. The considerable costs involved in preparing the feast and rice wine normally offered by the host member, have proved too high for many smallholding owner-cultivators and tenants (1981:441). I would suggest that this may account for the low proportion of tenants in Ban Pong currently involved in mu top wan kan.

Joint tenancies, such as that described above for the family of Nai Chao Canta'wali, are quite common in Ban Pong[1], and involve either parents and their married children or two or three married siblings, living in separate households. Although in many cases this no doubt represents a particular stage in the developmental cycle, given the intense competition for tenancies in Ban Pong, the practice may become increasingly frequent and, in the case of sibling co-tenants, increasingly long-term.

The three case studies of tenant households presented below, include a variety of examples of the strategies adopted by such farmers in an attempt to at least maintain, and at best improve, their economic status. Case 11 also provides an interesting example of the process of land fragmentation occurring over three generations.

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[1] At least 19 of the 133 tenant households had joint tenancies (14.3%), but this information was not recorded consistently, and the real figure may be considerably higher.

Case 11: Nang Chawi and Nai Buan Chaiwong, House No.82/1 : Landless Tenants

Nang Chawi (born 1938) is a fourth generation resident of Ban Pong (see Figure 15). Her mother's paternal grandfather was among the group of first settlers given the task of opening up the Valley for cultivation, and had himself cleared an 11 rai holding. Chawi's mother's maternal grandfather, also an early settler of Ban Pong, had cleared 48 rai which, on his death, was divided equally between his three children. Chawi's grandmother's inheritance of 16 rai was subsequently divided between her four younger children, while Chawi's mother, Mae Ui Uan Phongklang (House No.82) inherited the full 11 rai holding cleared by her paternal grandfather. This holding will be divided between Mae Ui Uan's five children when she dies, each of them receiving slightly more than 2 rai[1]. At present, Chawi and her husband Buan (born in Ban Pong of landless parents) farm Mae Ui Uan's land, together with a brother and sister of Chawi who live with their mother in House No.82. The produce of the land is divided equally between the two households. Buan and Chawi have four daughters[2], the oldest of whom has lived with Mae Ui Nuan since infancy.

Case 12: Nai Pi and Nang Nuan Khaosuai, No.384 : Landless tenants

Nai Pi was born in Ban Pong in 1930. His mother, Mae Ui Khiao Munmak (House No.133) had come from Lampang in 1912 with her parents. Mae Ui Khiao and her husband bought 18 rai in Ban Pong in the late 1920s. After the death of Nai Pi's father in 1970, the land was divided equally between his 7 children and Mae Ui Khiao, each of whom received 2¼ rai. Nai Pi felt that a 2¼ rai holding was too small to support his family (of four sons and a daughter), and he sold the plot shortly after receiving it. Only three of his co-heirs have retained their inheritance; his mother, and his youngest sister who live in the same household (with his sister's husband who had himself bought 4½ rai some years earlier), and his older sister whose husband will be the sole heir of his parents' 14 rai (House No.192)[3].

Nai Pi and his wife Nuan (who had first come to Ban Pong from Ban Hang Dong a year after their marriage), now rent 10 rai from distant kin, on a kin kha hua basis. They also cultivate a 2½ rai upland field which they have cleared over the past few years. Nuan does a little trading in the local market, selling produce from their upland fields. They also raise livestock, and in 1973 they owned 4 buffalo, 2 oxen, 2 pigs and 40 chickens. Their daughter, married with two young children, lives nearby (House No. 348/1), and their four sons still live with them[4].

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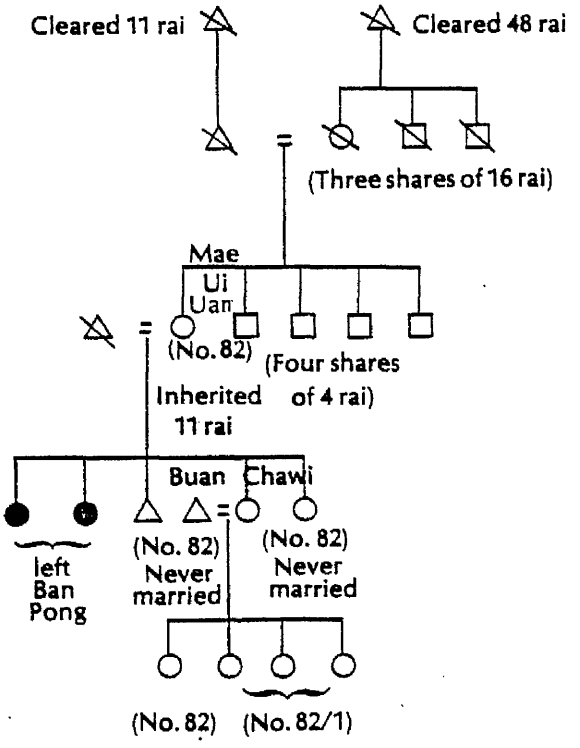
[1] However, it is likely that Nang Chawi and her brother and sister still living in Ban Pong, will buy up the shares of the two sisters who have married outside the village. As neither the brother or the sister living in Ban Pong has married, they will probably continue to farm the 11 rai jointly after Mae Ui Uan's death. The economic characteristics of men and women who had remained unmarried long after their peers, are discussed in Appendix 4.

[2] Nang Chawi's youngest daughter was born in 1966. In 1968 she started to use contraception and did so continuously until May 1973 when she was sterilised.

[3] It is interesting to note here that the two households in which the small inherited holdings had been retained, included other members owning (or hoping to own in the future) further irrigated holdings.

[4] Nang Nuan had used contraception briefly in 1968, but did not start again until 1974. She felt that it was unlikely that she would become pregnant as her youngest child was born in 1961.

Figure 15: Genealogy for Case No. 11.



Case 13: Nang Nuan Kønkaeo, No.26, and Nang Køng Canta'wali No.25 : Landless tenants

Nang Nuan and her younger sister Køng, were born in Ban Pong of landless parents, as were both of their husbands. The two households jointly farm an 8 rai holding of a neighbour, on a beng khru'ng basis. In recent years they have cleared a 5 rai upland field where they cultivate hill rice. Nuan and her husband own three buffalo, while her sister and brother-in-law own two buffalo and two oxen. Both households also raise poultry. Apart from cultivating their rented fields, the two households engage in small-scale trading, selling tobacco grown on the rented fields, and roofing strips[1] made by them during the dry season. Both sisters have had difficulty in raising children. Nuan has had a total of eleven livebirths, but only two have survived infancy, while Køng lost three of her five children[2].

It was noted earlier (p.324) that 50% of tenant farmers in Ban Pong reported having a beng khru'ng arrangement with their landlords. According to the majority of informants, 'in the old days' beng khru'ng was the only tenancy system used in the area. However, with the increase in absentee landlords in recent decades, the fixed rental system has become more widespread. This change is attributed, by villagers, to the landlords' fear of being cheated by tenants who were dividing the harvest without supervision. Nevertheless, nowadays, the fixed rental system has been adopted by the majority of wealthy local landlords as well (see Table 50, p.322).

Prior to the political eruptions of 1974 (see Chapter 6, p.273), the fixed rental for kin kha hua tenancies in Ban Pong ranged from 10-20 tang per rai, i.e. somewhat more than half of the average yield in a normal year (see p.339-340). In many cases, however, this arrangement meant that the tenants were receiving considerably less than half of the produce

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[1] See footnote 1 , p.332, below.

[2] Since the beginning of the family planning programme in 1967, both sisters have been on the pill, and neither of them wants any more children.

from the land they had cultivated. In a year of exceptionally bad weather, a tenant may be left with no rice at all. Such was the case following severe floods in 1973, when many farmers in the Valley (and elsewhere in the Province) lost most of their crop (see Appendix 7). In July 1974, at a time when villagers throughout Thailand were beginning to express openly their frustration and dissatisfaction on many issues of government policy, several hundred tenant farmers in Mae Taeng marched to the District headquarters to demand a reduction in the fixed rental (see press cuttings, p.331). Similar scenes were repeated in hundreds of districts throughout Thailand, and within months, new legislation had been passed, reducing the rental to one third of the total yield. In addition, dry season cultivation by tenants, formerly charged at a rental of 200฿ per rai, was to be free of charge.

The new legislation, although potentially of considerable short-term benefit to tenants throughout the country, may lead in the longer term to changes which could have serious repercussions at the village level. In areas where the new tenancy laws have been fully implemented, landlords' incomes (from rents) have effectively been cut by between 30% and 50%. As a result, in 1978, Phǫ Nan Srithǫn (see Case 3 above), told me that he was seriously considering selling his extensive landholdings in the Valley, since they were no longer a profitable concern. His plan would be to leave Ban Pong, move into the city, and live on interest from the investment of the proceeds of the sale of his land. In fact, in 1981, by now 85 years old, he had had second thoughts about making such a major change in his life. Nevertheless, his intention is worthy of consideration in view of the fact that if other, younger wealthy local landlords were to realise his plan to sell up and leave the village, their land would

Talks in land dispute hit new obstacle

CHIANG MAI

PROTESTING farmers in the Mae Taeng District land dispute here have run into new problems with the refusal of their landlords to join any further negotiations at the district office.

The landlords, who made the refusal on Wednesday during the last meeting in the dispute, said that if the farmers want to continue the talks they will have to hold them in the landlords' homes and not at the district office.

After the announcement, angry farmers said that the refusal is just another tactic to prevent a satisfactory solution being reached.

The dispute arose after Mae Taeng District farmers demanded that the rent for their land, paid in rice, be lowered as they are having to pay excessive amounts.

District officials have already warned the landlords that they are violating the Rent Control Law by charging more than the maximum rent allowed under the law.

The Bangkok Post, 8.8.74

Angry farmers threaten mass demonstration

CHIANG MAI

FARMERS' representatives stormed out of negotiations with landlords over land rents in Mae Taeng District and threatened a massive demonstration unless landowners agree to their demands.

The farmers say they will organise a mass protest march to hand their complaints directly to the Governor in the provincial town about 30 kilometres away.

Meanwhile the landowners charged that the farmers' demands were impossible to meet and announced that they would not take part in any more negotiations.

The dispute between hundreds of rice farmers in Mae Taeng and 10 landlords started on July 25 when 300 rice farmers demonstrated outside the district office to demand the authorities investigate landlords' practices.

The main point of the dispute was that farmers presently have to pay 25 buckets of paddy to their landlords for each rai of farm-land they rent. One rai of ricefield usually yields about 45 buckets of paddy annually.

Farmers want this rent reduced to 15 buckets per rai but the landlords have turned them down.

Three rounds of negotiations have been held but both sides refuse to budge. Yesterday's meeting ended in deadlock with the farmers walking out.

Reportedly only four landowners sent representatives to attend the meeting organised and chaired by District Officer Phirath Warapridee.

The situation apparently worsened when the landowners' representatives refused to accept farmers' demands and charged that the farmers' complaints had created a lot of misunderstanding among residents.

After three hours the farmers' representatives suddenly stormed out of the meeting room as a protest to the landowners.

Angry farmers later told the Bangkok Post that they would call a mass demonstration and go to the provincial seat to air their grievances.

The Bangkok Post
9.8.74

● Some of the farmers look very worried as they listen to the discussion of the dispute during the last meeting with their landlords.

almost certainly pass into the hands of absentee landlords who in time would control the majority of holdings in the countryside. Such a situation would affect not only the economic structure within villages, but would also significantly alter the pattern of social relationships in peasant communities.

7.8 Landless Labourers in Ban Pong

As noted earlier (Table 46, p.302), 320 of the 460 households in Ban Pong were landless in 1974. Of these, 99 households had regular tenancy agreements (Table 51, p.324). Of the remaining 221 landless households, a minority (33 households) were supported by regular salaries of family members working as teachers, a nurse, irrigation officials, and other civil service jobs (9 households), or from the income of craftsmen including a metal worker, two carpenters and a housebuilder (4 households), or full-time traders and shopkeepers (20 households). A further 11 households included an elderly man or woman (or couple) no longer actively employed, and supported by sons or daughters living nearby. Finally there was one case of an unmarried deaf-mute woman (see Ch.2, p.93, footnote 1) who was occasionally fed by her younger brother, but generally had to beg for food from her neighbours. Thus, in all, 176 households (38.3% of all households in Ban Pong) were dependent entirely on wage labour or hunting and gathering activities[1]. Although sixteen of these households

[1] One of the most widespread and profitable of such concerns is the production of roofing strips. This is a common activity in the Valley during February and March when the large leaves of the tong tu'ng (Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb.) fall to the ground on the upland to the west of Ban Pong. Poor villagers gather the leaves early in the morning, then thread them, in pairs, onto long strips of bamboo, about 4' in length, fixed with thin bamboo twine. The strips are sold in bundles of 100 for between 15 and 25฿ a bundle (in 1973). A single worker can produce about 50 strips in a full working day. Other ways in which villagers can earn money without capital outlay include the collection of wood to make charcoal (selling for 0.50฿ per kilo in 1973), gathering of mushrooms, honey, bamboo shoots and ants' eggs, hunting for wild birds, rabbits and deer in the forest, or catching fish, crabs and frogs in the flooded paddy fields during the rainy season. As noted earlier, it is this variety of ways in which a poor landless household can scrape a living together which continues to attract a number of new migrants to Ban Pong each year.

had parents still owning land, in all cases they were very small holdings which are unlikely to survive sub-division (see p.317above).

Long and short-term migration of family members as a means of alleviating the burden on domestic resources, as well as providing much-needed additional cash income, is common among landless households[1]. In 1973-74 for example, about 60% of the 87 individuals who had worked outside Ban Pong at some time during the year were from landless households. These men and women represented 25% of all landless households in the village. About one fifth of these temporary migrants had worked in pa miang. Some of the men had worked as woodcutters for the Royal Forestry Department, several young men and women had worked as 'bus-boys' or conductresses, and the remainder had worked in domestic service, mining, roadbuilding, agricultural labour, or industrial labour[2]. The demographic characteristics of these temporary migrants were discussed earlier (see Chapter 4, pp.192-194).

Members of landless non-tenant households who remain in the village have to compete for agricultural labouring opportunities, for transplanting and harvesting of the rice crop, and harvesting and sorting of the various cash crops grown in the dry season (see Section 7.10 below). These opportunities are, of course, seasonal and for the rest of the year such landless households have to struggle to provide even for basic subsistence needs. Four case studies are presented below.

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[1] And, to a lesser extent, among small land-owning and tenant households.

[2] In the tobacco curing factory and nam pla (fish sauce) factory.

Case 14: Nang Pa Khanthawong, House No.217 : Landless Labourer

Nang Pa was born in Ban Pong in 1923. Her maternal grandparents had cleared 12 rai in the valley during the late 1890s, and her mother had received a quarter share of this land in about 1920. The 3 rai holding was subsequently bequeathed to Pa and her elder brother in 1948 on the death of their mother. She and her brother farmed the land jointly for about 15 years and then, in 1962, they were forced to sell it in order to repay their debts which had accumulated during this time. Meanwhile Pa had married a landless migrant from Doi Saket in 1952. Before the death of her husband in 1959, she gave birth to five children, all of whom have survived. In 1962 she had a sixth child by a married lover in the village. By 1974, with her two oldest children married and living in separate households in Ban Pong, and her third son working in Chiengmai, Pa and her three other children were earning a precarious existence working as wage labourers in the Valley and in pa miang, making and selling roofing strips and, in the case of her second son, working from time to time as a woodcutter for the Royal Forestry Department.

Case 15: Nai Sap and Nang Sribut Caimu'ang, House No. 371 : Landless labourers

Nai Sap came to Ban Pong as a child in the late 1930s from Pa Sang District in Lamphun. His parents had sold their 12 rai holding some years before leaving Lamphun as they had been seriously in debt. They did not have sufficient capital therefore to buy new land in Ban Pong, and worked as wage labourers. Sribut was born in Ban Pong in 1932 of landless parents, and married Nai Sap in 1951. She had a total of ten livebirths, but only five survived infancy, the youngest having been born in 1972. Sap and Sribut work as wage labourers in the Valley, and have recently cleared 5 rai of upland, where they grow dry rice. Sribut makes khanom cin (Chinese noodles) for sale, and the whole family produces roofing strips during the dry season[1].

Case 16: Phǫ Ui Ta Khantiam, House No.362 : Landless Labourer

Phǫ Ui Ta was born in 1892 in Ban Wang Pong in Mae Rim District. His paternal grandparents had cleared 20 rai there, and his father had received a one fifth share. In 1915, Ta's father sold his 4 rai holding because he and his family were leaving the village, and three years later Ta moved to Ban Pong to marry. Throughout their married lives he and his wife worked as wage labourers. In 1974, now a widower, Phǫ Ui Ta was living with his only surviving son, Duang (recently divorced), and his granddaughter. Duang supports the household by working as a wage labourer in the village, while Phǫ Ui Ta cultivates a small area of land in the house compound[2] where he grows bananas, mango, longan, papaya and bamboo shoots for sale. The whole family makes roofing strips during the dry season.

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[1] Weakened by her many pregnancies and a lifetime of hard work, Sribut had long been a sickly woman. In November 1973 she died of tuberculosis, at the age of 41.

[2] Phǫ Ui Ta's house is on the far western edge of Ban Pong where housing is much less dense than in the rest of the village (see Village Map).

Case 17: Nai Peng and Nang Fǫngkaeo Phalawan, No.310 : Landless Labourers

Nai Peng and his wife were both born in Ban Pong in 1926, of landless parents. Since their marriage in 1946 they have lived in the house of Fǫngkaeo's mother, who died in November 1972. Fǫngkaeo has had eleven livebirths (including one pair of twins), and eight have survived[1]. Their oldest daughter works in Chiengmai in a 'Beauty Salon', and in June 1973 two sons and a daughter left Ban Pong to find work in Bangkok. Their oldest son married in August 1973 and built a small house beside his wife's parents' home (House No.230). In 1974, only the three youngest children were still living with their parents. Peng and Fǫngkaeo used to work regularly in pa miang when they were younger. Now he works from time to time as a woodcutter for the Royal Forestry Department, while his wife is attempting to establish herself as a trader in milled rice. They also work as agricultural wage labourers during the planting and harvesting seasons.

7.9 Upland Clearance in Ban Pong

Since the mid-1960s the situation of the poor in Ban Pong has become acute. As we have seen (Chapter 4, p.186), many families have left the Village altogether, some of whom have moved further north to Fang, where land is still available for clearance. However, growing political insecurity in this border district in recent years has made such a move undesirable for all but the most hardy (and desperate) migrant. Movement to pa miang, which for so long had provided an opportunity for some poor families to improve their situation, is becoming increasingly difficult because of population pressure in the hills (see Chapter 8).

Faced with dwindling opportunities to make even a minimal living, many people in Ban Pong (and others throughout Northern Thailand, see Chapter 6, Section 6.9) have, since the mid 1960s, begun to clear upland fields, from the forest and scrub land to the west and north of the village.[2]

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[1] Nang Fǫngkaeo has used the contraceptive pill since the birth of her youngest child in 1967.

[2] The fields as referred to locally as suan pae (lit. 'garden of dry deciduous dipterocarp forest').

This area, known as pa sanguan (forest reserve), is the property of the Royal Forestry Department. Although a few upland fields had been cleared before this time, it was not until the mid-to-late 1960s that it began on a large scale, accelerating during the early 1970s. By 1974, at least 400 rai[1] had been cleared by Ban Pong villagers. Ninety-five percent of these plots were 5 rai or less, 83% 3 rai or less, and 44% were 1 rai or less. Although 22 of the 176 plots had changed hands by sale since initial clearance, only 16 of all the plots were said to have been registered at all, and only 10 of them had the 'sɔ khɔ 1' certificate (Form Reporting Land Occupation)[2].

Early in 1974, when many villagers from Ban Pong were busy burning, clearing and levelling their upland fields, Royal Forestry Department helicopters flew overhead, day after day, in an attempt to discourage this illegal encroachment of the land. The kamnan received official instructions to stop the clearing[3], but when it became clear that it was on too large a scale to stop without serious repercussions (at a time of widespread political unrest in the countryside), an amnesty was declared[4]. Those who had already cleared land were given legal rights to use it, but not to sell, and severe penalties were laid down for anyone who cleared new land in the future. Details of the economic status of those households which had cleared upland by 1974 are presented in Table 52.

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[1] This is a very approximate figure as few (if any) of the plots had been surveyed and the areas recorded were the clearers' own estimates. According to kamnan Montri, about 1500 rai of upland to the west of Ban Pong had been cleared by 1974 by villagers from all parts of the Valley.

[2] As Kemp (1981:8) has pointed out, this certificate is the most widely-held documentation denoting occupation of land. The fact that it does not convey any legal rights on the holder is generally overlooked by the majority of farmers in respect to lowland irrigated fields as well as upland swidden.

[3] The official reason given for this ban was that excessive clearance of upland was damaging the water table, a factor said to have contributed to the severe flooding in the valley during the previous rainy season (see Appendix 7). Ironically, the hardship caused by the flooding had led to even more upland being cleared that year (see Chapter 6, p.283).

[4] See Chapter 6, p.285, footnote 1.

Table 52

Clearance of Upland Fields by Economic Category, Ban Pong, 1974

Economic Category of Household	Cleared Upland: Number of Households	Cleared Upland: % by economic category	Cleared Upland: % of all who cleared upland	Economic Category as Proportion of all Households
Landless				
Labourers (176)	78	44.3%	50.6%	38.3%
Tenants (99)	41	41.4	26.6	21.5
Other (45)	-	-	-	9.8
Landowning[1]				
Under 5 rai (60)	20	33.3	13.0	13.0
5-9 rai (38)	10	26.3	6.5	8.3
10 rai or more (42)	5	12.0	3.3	9.1
Total (460)	154	33.5%	100.0	100.0

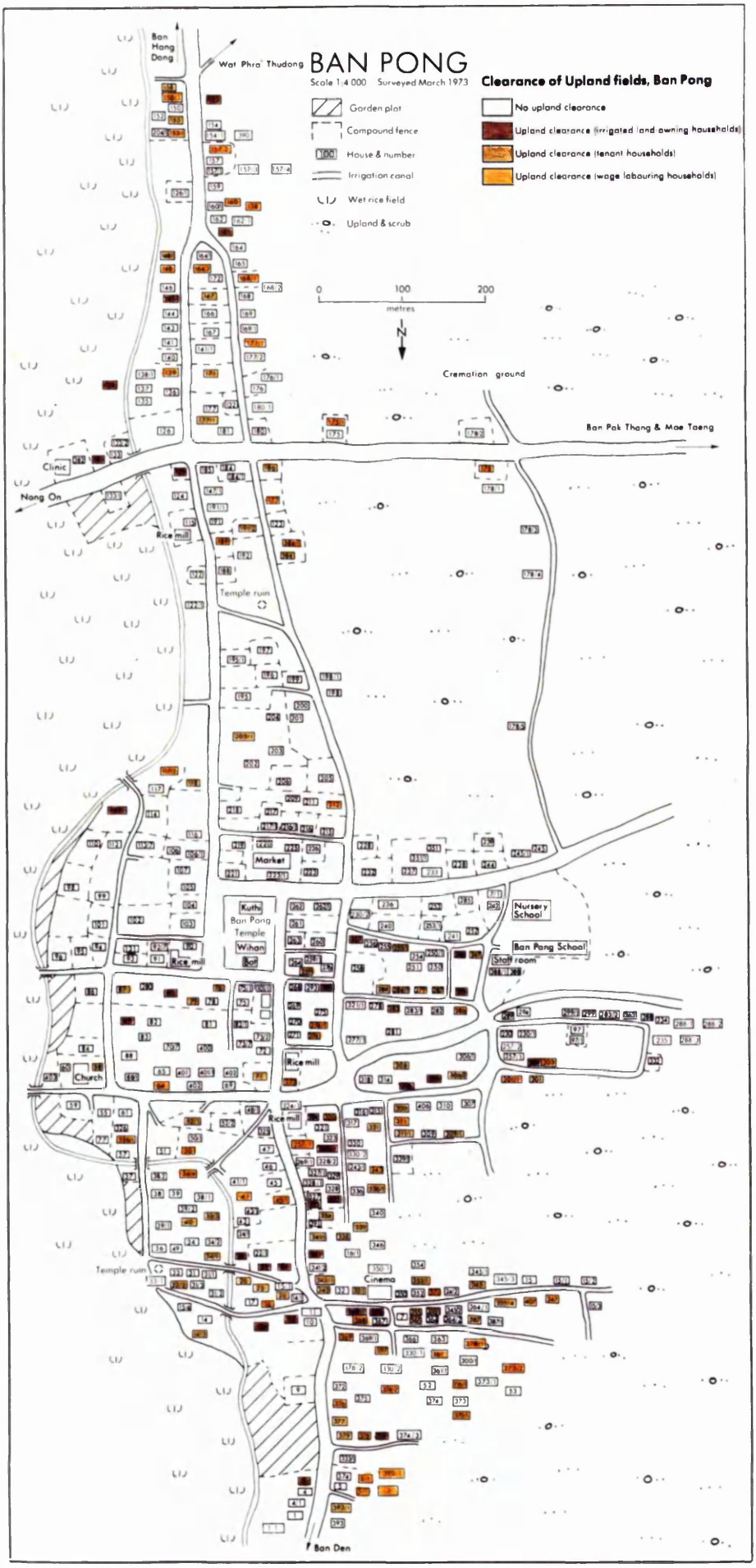
Of the 154 households which had cleared upland fields by 1974, the overwhelming majority were landless tenants and labourers (77.3%)[2]. Apart from the numerical predominance of such landless households, they are also proportionally more prevalent among those clearing upland than in the population as a whole. The opposite is true of those landowning households with 5 rai or more. In most cases farmers of upland fields were cultivating rainfed hill rice, but some were experimenting with a variety of cash crops including tobacco, water-melon and sweet potato. However by 1974, many of the fields were still in a state of partial clearance, or were poorly located to allow adequate watering[3] (or drainage), so few of the cash cropping farmers were very successful. Without the capital needed to improve the productivity of these upland fields[4], they are unlikely to provide any long-term solution to the economic problems of the landless poor in Ban Pong.

[1] Includes owner-tenants.

[2] The 22 households which had purchased upland fields included 11 landless labourer households, 3 landless tenant households and 8 landowning households

[3] On the eastern slopes of the Valley, above Ban Nǫng Ǫn and Ban Muang Kham (see Map 2, p.51) the topography is more suited to cultivation of upland crops and villagers there are said to make considerable profits from their rainfed fields.

[4] See Chapter 6, Section 6.9.


BAN PONG
Scale 1:4 000 Surveyed March 1973
Clearance of Upland fields, Ban Pong
Garden plot
Compound fence
House & number
Irrigation canal
Wet rice field
Upland & scrub
No upland clearance
Upland clearance (irrigated land-owning households)
Upland clearance (tenant households)
Upland clearance (wage labouring households)
0 100 200
metres
N
Ban Hong Dong
Wat Phra Thudong
Cremation ground
Ban Pak Thang & Mae Taeng
Clinic
Nong On
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Market
Kuthi
Ban Pong
Temple
Wihan
Nursery School
Ban Pong School
Staff room
Church
Cinema
Ban Den

MAP 13

Clearance of Upland Fields, Ban Pong

7.10 Limitations to the Intensification and Diversification of Agriculture in Ban Pong

In 1974, lowland fields in Ban Pong Valley were irrigated by a traditional mu'ang fai (canal and wier) system (see Appendix 7). Given the limitations of such systems, and the extensive area of land in the Valley requiring irrigation, only a small proportion of holdings could receive adequate water for cultivation during the dry season. For this reason double cropping of wet rice in Ban Pong has remained on a very small scale, with only 6 landowners (4.3% of 140) regularly planting a second rice crop in the dry season[1].

A few farmers have experimented with the use of chemical fertilisers on the main rice crop, but none have found much advantage in doing so. Those with higher yielding fields (see below) found the increase only marginal, while those with poorer quality fields found that the amount of fertiliser needed to produce a significant increase in yield was too great to be economically justified. Farmers owning livestock were able to fertilise their fields with manure.

In fact, average yields of rice per rai reported by Ban Pong farmers show considerable variation regardless of whether or not chemical fertiliser had been used. The variations show two different trends, one relating to the location of the holding in the Valley, with northern fields generally producing higher yields than those in the south[2], and the other relating

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[1] However, the construction of a major dam across the River Ngat by the Royal Irrigation Department begun in 1977, and due for completion in the early 1980s, is likely to produce substantial changes in agriculture in the Valley (see Appendix 7).

[2] Because of the topography of the Valley, and the way in which irrigation water is distributed (see Appendix 7), fields in the north benefit in two ways. Not only do they invariably receive irrigation water sooner than fields further south, but they are rarely affected by adverse weather conditions, while those in the south of the Valley commonly suffer crop losses as a result of severe flooding.

to size of holding[1]. Reported average yields in Ban Pong indicate a clear inverse relationship to size of holding[2], with those under 10 rai producing 28.5 tang per rai, those between 10 and 25 rai producing 27.5 tang per rai, and those over 25 rai averaging just under 20 tang per rai.

The majority of farmers in Ban Pong grow glutinous rice in their fields, reflecting the predominantly subsistence nature of rice production in this area. In 1973 only 5% of the main season crop grown by farmers in the Village was non-glutinous rice, produced primarily for outside markets[3]. This reflected the situation throughout Mae Taeng District where, in the same year, only 6% of land under rice was planted with non-glutinous varieties. This was exceptionally low if compared to Chiengmai Province as a whole, where the average proportion of non-glutinous rice in the main season crop in 1973 was 21%. In some of the more commercialised districts such as Doi Saket and San Sai, as much as 30-35% of the main season rice crop was non-glutinous in that year. The emphasis on production of rice for subsistence in Mae Taeng District is also evident in the data on dry season cultivation. In Chiengmai Province as a whole, the second rice crop is almost entirely produced for sale, with more than 90% of the area planted with rice during the dry seasons 1973/4 and 1974/5 being non-

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[1] A further variable which I was unable to investigate systematically was the use of new varieties of rice seed. However, there was evidence of considerable experimentation among farmers in Ban Pong, with at least 20 different varieties of seed being used in the main crop in 1974. Choice of seed is dependent on a number of factors, including location of holding (i.e. degree of reliability of water supply), labour supply (an inadequate supply of labour may necessitate the staggering of the harvest by using seeds with different ripening spans), production for sale (rice grown for domestic consumption in Northern Thailand is invariably glutinous, while that produced for sale is usually non-glutinous), and flavour (some farmers plant part of their fields with lower yielding traditional varieties because their flavour is highly valued).

[2] This corresponds to Suvaphorn's findings (1975:99). For discussion see Chapter 6, p.261.

[3] Interestingly, this figure is the same as that given by Zimmerman for the proportion of non-glutinous rice produced in outer districts of Chiengmai Province in 1931! (see Chapter 6, p.260). It should be noted however that much of the rice produced on the land of large landlords is sold in local markets.

glutinous varieties. In Mae Taeng however, the equivalent proportions for the two dry seasons were 28% and 24%. In fact, Mae Taeng was the only district in the whole Province in which glutinous rice predominated in the dry season crops during this period.

In Chapter 6 (p.259) it was noted that although farmers in the Northern Region as a whole have tended to be excluded from the major advances in agricultural production experienced in other parts of Thailand, the extent of market penetration varies considerably not only within the Region, but also within provinces. For example, in 1973, while many districts in Chiengmai Province produced a wide variety of non-rice cash crops for markets within Thailand (notably soya beans, peanuts, sesame and water melon), Mae Taeng's most significant production was of potatoes (33% of all in the Province). This District's contribution to most of the other cash crops grown in the Province was minimal. The agricultural statistics on cultivation of upland crops provide further evidence of Mae Taeng's predominantly subsistence-oriented economy. In 1973, 16% of upland under cultivation[1] in the District was planted with dry (glutinous) rice, as compared to only 6% in the Province as a whole. Following severe crop losses in the main season lowland rice crop in that year (see Appendix 7), the proportion of cultivated upland in the Province planted with dry rice increased to almost 17% in 1974, representing an additional 15,775 rai under upland rice. However, this increased area was limited to only 4 districts (Mae Taeng, Hot, Mae Chaem and Doi Tao[2]) which are among the poorest and least commercialised in the Province. In Mae Taeng, where the

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[1] This refers to the area as recorded in unpublished agricultural statistics obtained from the Provincial Headquarters in Chiengmai. Unregistered and illegally cleared upland fields would not have been included in these figures.

[2] This new district was originally part of Hot District, and was established early in 1974.

area of upland under dry rice in 1974 was almost 4 times that in the previous year (constituting 61% of all the area under upland crops), the increase was almost entirely at the expense of cash crops[1].

Nevertheless, farmers in Ban Pong, like those elsewhere in the North (see Chapter 6, p.267, footnote 2), have long produced a variety of non-rice crops during the dry season. In the past, when density of housing in Ban Pong was much lower than it is today, the majority of households were able to produce most of the fruit, vegetables and tobacco needed for domestic consumption, on plots situated within, or near to, the house compound. Nowadays however, greatly increased density of housing in the village has made such cultivation impossible for most families. At the same time, demand for greater production of non-rice crops to satisfy local and national market needs, has been increasing. Although these crops require considerably less water than wet rice, the severity of the drought during the dry season is such that only those fields close to the main irrigation canal, or by the river, can be cultivated.[2] Consequently only 66% of farmers in Ban Pong were able to plant a dry season crop at all, and only 53% of them were able to do so regularly. Even in these cases only certain fields, or sections of fields were suitably located to permit cultivation. In much of the Valley, the risk of drought was too great to warrant making the

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[1] The total number of rai under upland crops in Mae Taeng increased only slightly between 1973 and 1974. In Chiengmai Province as a whole, however, the area was reduced by almost 50% over this time, most of the decline reflecting a fall in the area planted with soya beans and peanuts. In view of the fact that the market price of these two products had also fallen during this period, the decline in production may be seen in terms of farmers' response to changing market conditions. (For a discussion of factors influencing crop choice among farmers in Saraphi District, see Calavan, 1974).

[2] As Tanabe has pointed out, traditional mu'ang fai systems were developed for main season subsistence cultivation only and are not adequate to support large-scale dry season planting in irrigated fields (1981:272-277).

capital outlay required for the purchase of seed and fertiliser[1]. As a result, about 75% of the land farmed by villagers in Ban Pong was left fallow during this part of the year[2].

The main cash crops grown in Ban Pong in 1973 and 1974 were garlic, shallots, peanuts and tobacco. Soya beans, chilli, cucumber, sugar peas and water melon were also grown on a number of plots, both lowland and upland. With the exception of tobacco (see below), all these products are processed by villagers and sold by village traders either in the local markets or to retailers in Chiengmai. Although the cultivation of these products in Ban Pong Valley is on a comparatively small scale, production and processing of some of them, particularly garlic and tobacco, is very labour intensive, and thus provides some seasonal employment for many of the village's landless labourers. The garlic crop, for example, requires careful stripping and cleaning of each head, then sorting according to size.

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[1] In their cultivation of non-rice crops for sale, farmers in Ban Pong tend to make somewhat greater use of modern technology than they do in their cultivation of rice. The first tractor used for ploughing fields in preparation for dry season planting in Ban Pong was hired by Phǫ Kamnan Mao (see Case No. 6, above), from a company in Doi Saket District, in 1969, and this was rented out to some of the wealthier local farmers. Although chemical fertilisers have been used for more than ten years on non-rice crops by farmers in Ban Pong, and Government Extension Workers have visited the Village to explain their use, there seems to be little consensus about either their application or their benefits. A survey of the use of chemical fertiliser in the cultivation of non-rice crops in the dry season by farmers in the Village, indicated considerable variability, not only in the type of fertiliser used, but also in the amount used per rai, and the observed proportional increases in yield. Farmers reported using between ½ and 3 sacks per rai, resulting in anything from slightly increased to more than double yields. Other factors such as water supply and natural soil fertility no doubt intervene, since there was no apparent correlation between amount of fertiliser used and increase in yield.

[2] Similarly, only 31% of the land within the Nǫng Plaman irrigation system in Mae Rim was cultivated in the dry season in 1974/75 (Tanabe, 1981:275, Table 27).

Tobacco production in Ban Pong Valley has, for many years, been a highly organised commercial operation, although this too is on a fairly small scale. Nǫng Ǫn, a village in the same sub-district as Ban Pong (see Map 6), is the site of a tobacco curing factory which was first opened in the 1930s. In recent years it has been run by the Thai-American Tobacco Company. Only farmers registered with the Company are permitted to sell their produce to them, and before the tobacco is planted each year the manager, huana truat rai, checks the number of rai each registered farmer plans to plant with tobacco. Each farmer has an identity card giving details of his tobacco production, and this can be used to obtain credit for buying fertiliser and insecticide. After the harvest these costs are deducted from the proceeds of the sale of the crop.

When the manager has established how many farmers are going to plant tobacco[1], and on how many rai, the factory workers sow the seedbeds, in preparation for the farmers to collect the young seedlings to transplant in their own fields. The tobacco growth period is approximately 70 days but, because of the limited capacity of the factory[2], picking is staggered over a period of 4 to 6 weeks. No picking can commence until the manager has inspected the crop and announced the day for picking. All farmers must then harvest a specified proportion of their crop on that day. The leaf must then be sorted and prepared for sale, two days later. This is a time of great activity in the village as large groups of men and women sit carefully sorting the leaves according to their shape and colour[3].

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[1] In 1974, 438 farmers (representing about 10% of all households in the Valley) planted a total of 300 rai of tobacco for the factory in Nǫng Ǫn.

[2] The drying towers at Nǫng Ǫn can accommodate a maximum of only 60-70,000 kilos of fresh leaf at one time.

[3] The best quality leaf ya trong klang should be mid-way between yellow and green, without blemishes, and large in size. The second grade leaf ya yǫd, is usually greener, with more pointed leaves, and the third grade ya tin includes mostly rounded yellow leaves.

Once sorted, the leaves are threaded onto sticks about 18" long, with about 20 leaves of similar size and colour. The siap ('spit' or 'strip')[1], which usually weights about 1 kilo, will be down-graded if it includes a single leaf of a lower grade, so sorting is extremely important. On the day of the sale, the farmers converge on the factory, laden with siap hanging from their shoulder carrying poles, and then queue to have their product weighed and graded and the details entered onto their cards.

At each picking, between 150 and 400 kilograms are harvested per rai, a total of about 1300 kilos per rai for the entire season. In 1974, best quality leaf reached a maximum of 1.80 Baht per kilo, second grade leaf between 1.20 and 1.60 Baht, and third grade leaf between 0.40 and 1.10 Baht[2]. Thus, on average, each rai planted with tobacco produced a crop worth some 2000 Baht to the farmer, and about 5000 Baht to the retailer. Despite considerable production costs involved in the use of fertiliser and insecticide, a tobacco farmer can therefore recoup his initial investment in each rai under cultivation in about four years (at 1974 prices of 4-5,000 Baht per rai in Ban Pong). However, the severe limitations on production of all cash crops imposed by the traditional irrigation system in the Valley (see p.339 above), as well as the restrictions imposed by the factory itself, have meant that only a very small minority of farmers in Ban Pong have been able to profit from the cultivation of tobacco. Profits to the Company on the other hand are considerable. Tobacco grown on the 300 rai planted in Ban Pong Valley in 1974 would have grossed more than 1,500,000 Baht.

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[1] The same term is used to refer to the roofing strips discussed earlier (p.332, footnote 1).

[2] Five kilos of fresh leaf produces about 1 kilo of dried leaf which would have reached between 10 and 30 Baht in Chiengmai in 1974. Some farmers produced small quantities of tobacco for domestic consumption, drying the leaves in the sun and air. Generally, homemade cigars are rolled in dried banana leaf. The dried squares of leaf are produced in the village and were selling for 10 Baht per 1000 in 1974. For a detailed description of smoking habits in Ban Pong see Mougne, MacLennan and Atsana (1982).

SUMMARY

Within the first half century following the initial settlement of Ban Pong, virtually all available irrigable land in the Valley had been cleared for cultivation. The prevailing bilateral inheritance system operating in a context of finite land resources, meant that within two generations of initial clearance, much of the land had become fragmented into uneconomic holdings. The influence of external economic factors, notably the spread of the cash economy, the Depression of the 1930s, and the growth of indebtedness, resulted in many smallholders selling their land. Such patterns reflected the situation found in many other parts of Thailand (see Chapter 6).

However, circumstances in Ban Pong differed from other parts of the country in one important way, namely the existence of a local traditional industry based on the production of wild tea (see Chapter 8). The growth of this industry, stimulated by an increase in the population in the area, and the expansion of marketing outlets, enabled a small number of commercially-oriented farmers to accumulate considerable wealth during the 1920s and 1930s which resulted in their acquisition of large holdings of irrigated land in the Valley. The complementary processes, of fragmentation of land and increasing landlessness on the one hand, and the control of large areas of land by a small minority of local landlords on the other, have resulted in the emergence of distinct economic classes within the community.

The wealthy landowning elite have reinforced their position of power in a number of ways, including control over other important resources such as the local market place, rice mills, and vehicles used for the transportation of local produce to city markets, as well as by their monopoly of political power in the community, their exclusive sphere of religious activity, their high incidence of inter-marriage and early adoption of modern methods of birth control. They are also becoming increasingly involved in urban life-styles as their children attend institutions of higher education in Chiengmai and Bangkok, often going on to settle permanently in the city, taking jobs in the non-agricultural sector, while some of their older members are planning to retire to the city.

Meanwhile, smallholders in the Village are attempting to maintain their position as landowners by a number of means such as renting of additional land, clearance of upland fields, permanent out-migration of some family members, small-scale trading and the rearing of livestock. Tenant households have adopted similar strategies and in a minority of cases have been able to purchase small plots of irrigated land. Increasingly tenancies are being shared jointly by two or more households, reflecting the considerable competition for rented land in the Village. For smallholders and landless tenants alike, limitation of family size by the use of modern contraceptive methods has also been of widespread significance (see Chapter 5).

For the most under-privileged members of the Ban Pong community, those landless families entirely dependent on wage labour, there are few opportunities for economic improvement. Although some of them had cleared upland fields in recent years, the productivity of such land is extremely low, and is unlikely to provide a solution to their problems in the longer term. Many members of these poor households leave the Village each year

to seek wage labouring work elsewhere either temporarily or permanently. However, the present-day oversupply of wage labourers in all parts of Thailand, means that such work is not only extremely hard to find, but is also very poorly paid.

Despite the acute polarisation of economic classes in Ban Pong, commercialisation of agriculture among farmers in the Village is generally on a very small scale. The major limiting factors were those found in Thailand as a whole in recent years (see Chapter 6), namely inadequate dry season irrigation, and insufficient capital to invest in increasing productivity. The predominance of subsistence agriculture in Ban Pong reflected patterns found throughout Mae Taeng District, which was in sharp contrast to the more commercialised districts closer to Chiengmai city.

Demographic changes have also played an important part in the economic development of Ban Pong. During the first half century of settlement, the rate of clearance of the Valley was no doubt governed to a large extent by the rate of population growth, both by natural increase and the continuing influx of migrants (see Chapters 2 and 4). At a later date, increased survival rates (see Chapter 3) would have accentuated the problems of excessive sub-division of land between large numbers of heirs. However, the widespread loss of land among smallholders was, as we have seen, largely a result of external economic forces. Furthermore, the initial increase in tenancy in the community was a consequence of the consolidation of large holdings by a small number of landlords, which in turn was made possible by the existence of the local fermented tea industry. I would suggest, therefore, that the rapid growth of population in Ban Pong since the Second World War has resulted simply in exacerbating problems which had already emerged at an earlier date.

In conclusion, it may be said that although the particular conditions which have contributed to the development of Ban Pong's present-day socio-economic structure differ considerably from those in most other parts of Thailand, it nevertheless reflects many of the problems currently facing the country as a whole, namely the grossly uneven distribution of land, very high rates of tenancy, landlessness, and under-employment, inadequate irrigation, and insufficient capital for increasing productivity.

CHAPTER 8

SURVIVORS AND ACCUMULATORS:
CHANGING PATTERNS OF EXPLOITATION OF PA MIANG

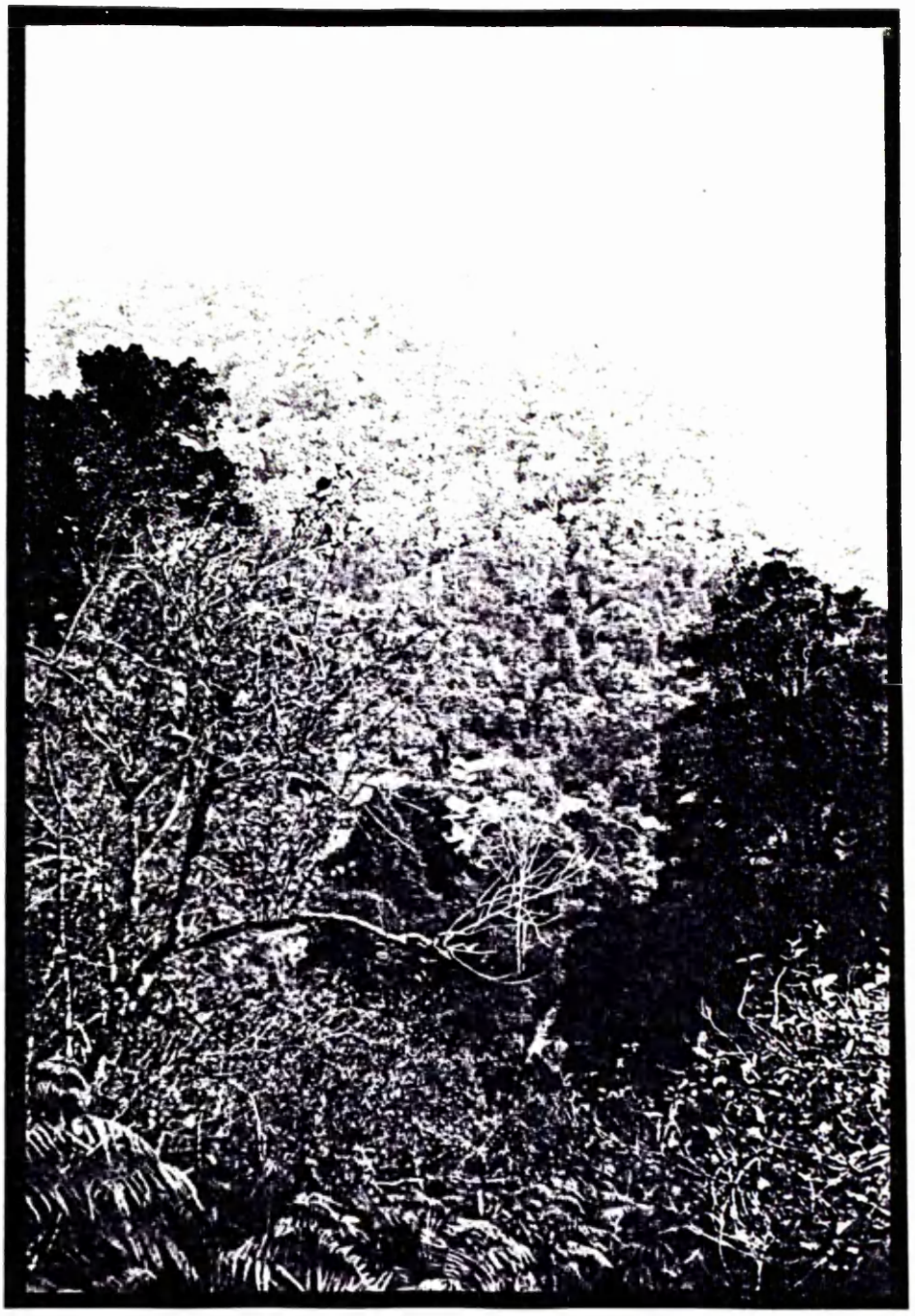

PLATE 8: Pa miang. Note miang trees in the foreground, and one of the hamlets in Village 9 in the middle distance (April 1974)

8. Introduction

In Chapter 7 the importance of the production and marketing of miang in the accumulation of capital by a minority of villagers in Ban Pong during the 1920s and 1930s was emphasised, and the way in which this has led to the present-day maldistribution of irrigated holdings in the Valley was illustrated by a number of Case Studies (see Cases 3, 4 and 5)[1]. The enduring significance of this local traditional industry as a source of seasonal, and in some cases, long-term employment for the poor of Ban Pong has also been noted in relation to the frequent movement of population from the Valley into the hills to work in the miang forests (see Chapter 4).

In this Chapter I first discuss the origins of miang production in Northern Thailand, and the way in which it has contributed to the economic development of Ban Pong. I then present data from two miang villages largely inhabited by people from Ban Pong, and discuss the way in which these mountain settlements function as satellites of the Valley community. Survey households in the two villages are analysed in terms of their demographic characteristics, patterns of ownership, labour and production, as well as their kinship links with the lowland population in Ban Pong.

The structural significance of the 'entourage', formed by miang orchard owners and traders in the Valley, and their producers in the hills, has been analysed at length in the literature (see LeBar, 1967; Van Roy, 1971; Wijeyewardene, 1971; and Keen, 1972 and 1978). My data indicate that in one of the study villages, this traditional framework for miang production

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[1] For further Case Studies see Appendix 6, Cases 20-23 and 25-26.

has broken down in the face of radical changes in the market for miang occurring in recent years. I will argue that a number of social and economic conditions, differentiating this upland community from others in the area, have facilitated this structural change.

In the final section of the chapter, I shall speculate about the future of the miang industry, and the possibility of its complete replacement by tea production in the long term, as falling prices of miang and a decline in its consumption by the young, are making it a decreasingly viable crop.

8.1 The Data

In April 1974 I travelled into the hills to the northeast of the Valley to interview migrants from Ban Pong who were living in pa miang. The survey covered 50 households in which at least one member had been born in Ban Pong. The households were situated in two villages; 26 in Village 12, Inthakhin Sub-district, and 24 in Village 9, Mae Na' Sub-district, Chieng Dao District (see Map 14)[1]. Each of the 'villages' was in fact a rather arbitrary administrative grouping of small hamlets[2] or pang, in some cases more than an hour's walk from each other across the mountains. Village 12 comprises seven hamlets, six of them populated by khon m'uang, Pang Ku'd, Pang Wiang Dong[3], Pang Id, Pang Iak, Pang Hok and Pang Huai Tad, and the seventh, a recently-settled community of Lahu tribesmen. In 1974, the headman of Village 12 estimated that its total population was approximately 600, living in about 150 households[4]. The origin of the inhabitants of the hamlets is quite varied. For example Pang Iak and Pang Hok are mainly inhabited by migrants from Doi Saket, while the majority of the population of Pang Ku'd, Pang Id and Pang Wiang Dong is

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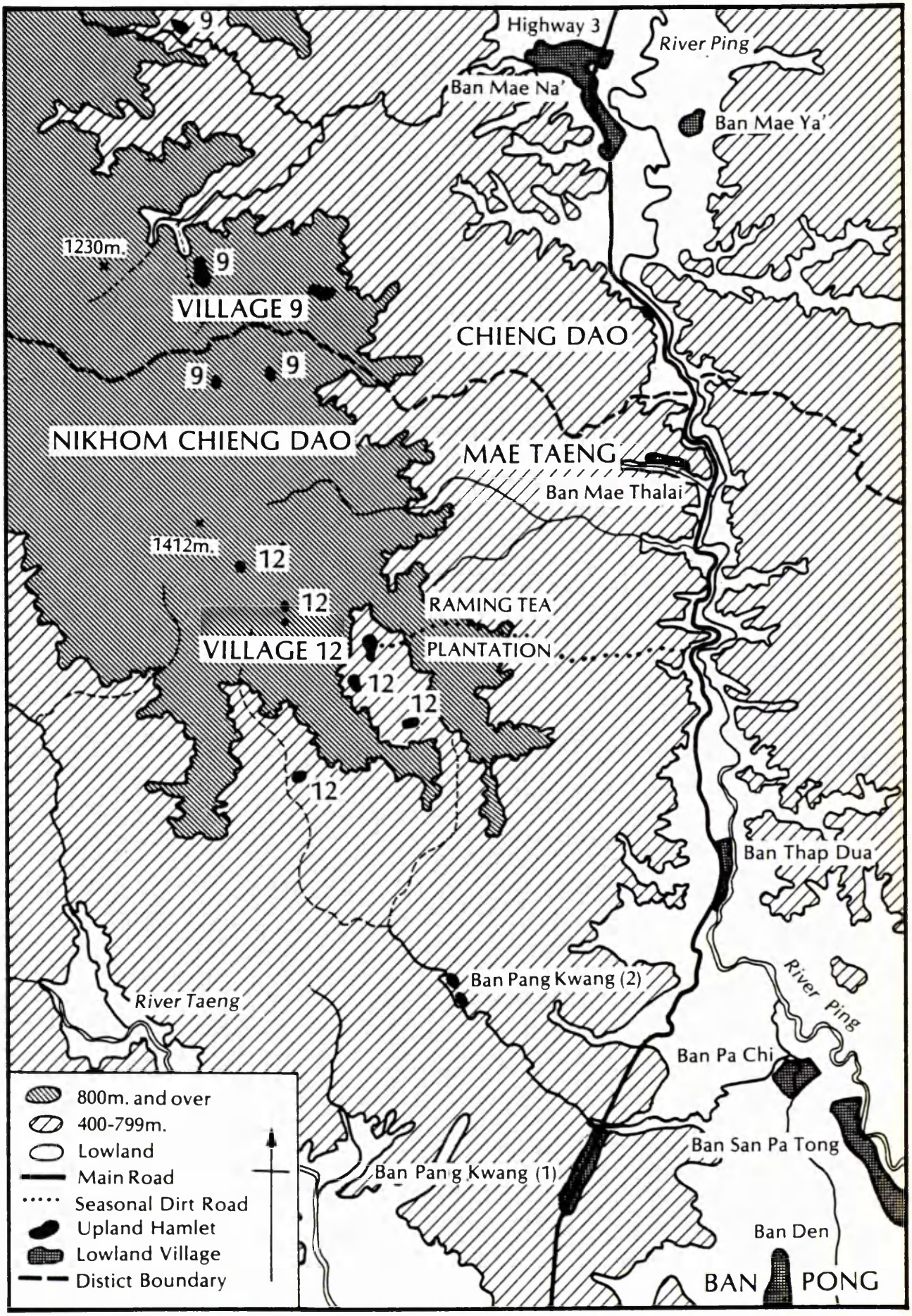
[1] I was fortunate in that both the villages have been the subject of investigation by other scholars some years prior to my own fieldwork; Van Roy studied Village 12 in 1964 (1971:Chapter 3), and Keen worked in Pang Ma'Oo in Village 9 in 1969 (1972:Chapter 3 and Case Study 1, and 1978:Chapter 14).

[2] The villages are indeed arbitrary if we are to believe the U.S. Army Map Service map of the area which places some of the hamlets in Village 9 well over the border into Mae Taeng District!

[3] Names of some of the hill settlements provide interesting clues about their past. For example, Pang Wiang Dong is surrounded by a circle (wiang) of stones on one of which is etched what looks like a winnowing tray (dong). According to local mythology, gold and riches were buried beneath the stones, dating from an early Lawa settlement on the same site. In 1964, when foundations were being laid for the village school, a golden Buddha image and a cedi bell were discovered. In the case of Pang Ma'Oo, treasure from an earlier settlement was also found in the form of a golden pomelo fruit (ma'oo) buried in a long-abandoned cedi.

[4] Van Roy recorded 534 people in 125 households in Village 12, in 1964 (1971:126).

MAP 14. LOCATION OF MIANG VILLAGES 9 AND 12 IN RELATION TO BAN PONG



from Ban Pong[1]. The population of Pang Huai Tad is of mixed origins, a factor related to its proximity to the Raming Tea Company plantation[2] in which many migrant labourers find employment. Village 9, situated due north of Village 12, comprises 8 small hamlets, the largest of which, Pang Ma'Oo[3] has given its name to the whole group. The majority of the population in four of the hamlets is from Ban Pong, while the others have links with other villages in Ban Pong Valley, notably Ban Den and Ban Nọng Ọn. In 1974 the total population of Village 9 numbered about 340, living in 85 households. The average size of hamlet in both villages is about 15 households, with a population of about 50-60, though one hamlet (Pang Mai in Village 9) had only 5 households, and another (Pang Huai Tad in Village 12) had more than 50.

The data presented in this Chapter are derived mainly from a questionnaire used during extended interviews in each of the 50 study households. Information concerning the involvement of people in Ban Pong in the production and sale of miang was collected in the second major village survey conducted in March 1974, several weeks prior to my visit to pa miang.

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[1] All study households from Village 12 were from these three hamlets.

[2] According to Van Roy, the plantation was founded by an exceptionally imaginative and determined Central Thai entrepreneur in the early 1960s. During the 15 years after the end of the Second World War he had attempted to set up and run a tea processing factory at the same site, using leaf supplied by local miang producers. This experiment resulted in failure largely due to the unreliability of the miang producers who were liable to sell their crop to the traditional phọ liang despite having made contracts to sell to the factory. In 1960, with a large land grant, as well as considerable financial support from the government, the entrepreneur decided on plantation cultivation of tea instead. (See Van Roy, 1971:158-181).

[3] See footnote 3 on the previous page.

8.2 The Origins of Miang Production in Northern Thailand and its Role in the Economic Development of Ban Pong Village

Miang, Camellia sinensis (Thea sinensis), is a wild tea plant which occurs naturally over extensive areas of upland Asia, from Assam to the southern hills of eastern China, through Burma, Northern Thailand, Laos and Vietnam. The soil and climate of northern Thailand are particularly well-suited to the plant, and it grows there in a wild state in mountainous areas over 2000' (Keen, 1978:255).

The origins of the processing of miang[1] into a chewable substance, by steaming and fermentation, and its consumption by the lowland khon mu'ang in Northern Thailand, are obscure. Van Roy has speculated that its use by the Tai peoples may date back beyond the time of their migration into Southeast Asia (1967:421), and, on the basis of reports by a number of early explorers to Northern Thailand, has confirmed that its consumption was already well-established among the khon mu'ang by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (1971:84-85).

LeBar has suggested instead that the production of fermented tea may have first evolved among hill tribes in the Region, such as the Khmu and T'in in Northern Thailand, the Palaung in Burma and the Lamet in Laos (1967: 115-116). He has further proposed that the lowland khon mu'ang in Northern Thailand may once have obtained the processed miang directly from the hill tribes, and have only become involved at the production level themselves comparatively recently (ibid.).

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[1] The term miang is used interchangeably in Northern Thai to refer to the wild tea plant and the processed leaf. Similarly, the term pa miang refers both to the mountain forests in which the bushes are found, and to the upland communities which have grown up to exploit them.

LeBar's hypothesis was supported by evidence provided by one of my informants, Nai Khampan Phromasen of Pang Klang in Village 9. According to Nai Khampan (who was born in Ban Pong in 1920), his grandfather, a migrant from Doi Saket District, had been one of the earliest settlers in Ban Pong, and had been the first person from the new settlement to explore the surrounding hillsides and harvest the wild tea leaf he found growing there. My informant's grandfather had reported that at the time of his first visit to pa miang (in about 1890), the only people living in the hills who produced miang were the Khmu[1]. Apparently the Khmu in this area had come originally from the vicinity of Luang Prabang in Laos, and had been brought as slaves by the Borneo Company some decades earlier to cut teak in the mountains of Northern Thailand. Those who were later set free, or escaped, set up small villages in the hills, centred around the wild miang forests. Proof of this fact, argued Nai Khampan, could be seen in the present-day architectural style common to all miang village houses occupied by migrants from the valley, which is copied from the original Khmu style. The house structure, which is indeed quite distinct from that found in lowland villages, is clearly designed specifically for miang production, and is focussed around the steaming fires and fermentation pits (see Figure 16). Furthermore, the use of intricate bamboo acqueduct systems to bring water from mountain streams to each hamlet, is said to be another Khmu tradition adopted by the lowlanders.

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[1] It should be noted that this account is based on Nai Khampan's recollection of his grandfather's observations, and I have been unable to find documentary evidence to support many of his assertions. However, the account is similar, in some details, to a report given to LeBar by informants from a miang village in the area of Wiang Pa' Pao, to the northeast of Doi Saket District, in Chiengrai Province (ibid:110-112).

It is possible therefore that the lowland migrants in this area had adopted the entire system of miang production from the Khmu. When this adoption of the miang production system may have occurred, and the extent to which such a pattern is typical of other khon mu'ang miang producers in Northern Thailand, is open to question, but in this case it would seem likely to have been a fairly gradual process, at first involving a small number of khon mu'ang operating on the boundaries of Khmu society in the hills.

Although Van Roy's case for the early Tai origins of miang production conflicts with both LeBar's and my own evidence, his speculation about the ways in which the lowland khon mu'ang became involved in its production may still apply. On the assumption that miang has long been consumed by lowlanders in Northern Thailand, he suggests that in the past peasants may have been sent to the hills to gather the leaf to produce miang for the local princes and their courts (1971:86-87). He also suggests that some of the earliest settlers in pa miang may have been bondsmen wishing to escape from the corvee system. In more recent years, Van Roy proposes, lowlanders have been moving to the hills either to seek a means to enhance their socio-economic status in the valley, or to escape economic destitution. Evidence in support of the latter two patterns, will be given in the analysis of data from my own survey of households in pa miang (see particularly Case Studies 18 and 19).

The consensus of opinion of informants in Ban Pong and in pa miang was that within a few years of the settlement of the lowland community in Ban Pong Valley, a number of the early pioneers had discovered the wealth of wild tea in the nearby hills. However, for the first 20-30 years, the villagers did not form any permanent households in the hills to exploit the miang forest, but simply travelled up from time to time to gather sufficient leaf for domestic use. It was not until after the turn of the century when the population in the Valley and its neighbouring districts began to grow, that the local demand for miang also increased. It was at this point (in about 1910 or 1920) that people from the Valley began to move into the hills to produce miang on a full-time basis. Nevertheless, the initially temporary nature of the miang producing communities in the hills is still evident in the use of the term pang, denoting a temporary work camp in the forest, in the names of all such upland settlements (LeBar 1967:119).

The economic potential of miang production, emerging at a time when markets for other products had not yet developed in this area, was therefore of great significance. Its significance was noted by a number of commercially-oriented individuals living in Ban Pong, many of whom, as we have seen, were recent migrants from Doi Saket District. In some cases, landless households from the Valley were hired to go into the hills and commence production on behalf of these entrepreneurs, while in others ambitious and resourceful peasants spent some years in the hills laying claim to areas of wild tea forest, before returning to the

Valley, leaving their orchards in the charge of tenant producers[1]. The substantial profits made by these accumulators was noted in the Case Studies referred to earlier, and it is without doubt that the present-day dominance of the village economy by a minority of households in Ban Pong stems from their early exploitation of the miang market.

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[1] The social proximity and physical separation of the hill and valley dwellers has led to a particularly complex kinship network. A not atypical case reported to me by an informant in Ban Pong may be summarised as follows. In 1910, Mae Di, a migrant from Mu'ang Hang on the Burma border, married Phø Suk. They had one son, Cøm, born in 1911. Soon after the birth the couple separated and in 1913 Mae Di married again, to Phø Sri, a recent migrant from San Pa Tøng District. Over the following twenty years Mae Di had a further 11 pregnancies only one of which survived to adulthood (my informant Mun, born in 1930). Soon after his arrival in Ban Pong, Phø Sri had become involved in miang trading and had built up a large and valuable herd of cattle which he used to transport the miang down from the hills. In 1923 he was sufficiently well-established to set up a temporary home in the hills for use on his trading trips. He employed a young unmarried village girl, Khiao, to live in his mountain home as his servant. Within two years Khiao gave birth to his son, In Kaeo, and soon after returned to the valley with her baby. The following year she married Phø Suk (long-since divorced from Mae Di) and together they had three children who were brought up with their half-brother In Kaeo. Meanwhile Cøm and his half-sister Mun were brought up together by their mother Mae Di, and Phø Sri. By 1974, Phø Suk, Phø Sri and Mae Di had all died. Mae Khiao was living in Ban Pong (House No.112) with her daughter, and her family. Her three sons, including In Kaeo, had all left the Village, and the youngest was living in Pang Wiang Dong, where he cultivates his mother's miang orchard. Cøm, son of Phø Suk and Mae Di, was living in Ban Pong (House No. 105) and owns a herd of pack oxen which are used for transporting miang from the hills. His eldest son, Suwan, has become a prominent miang patron in his own right (see Appendix 6, Case No.23). Mun, daughter of Phø Sri and Mae Di, was living in Ban Pong (House No.106) and she and her sons travel frequently to pa miang to work as seasonal labourers.

8.3 Technology and Labour Relations in the Production of Miang

Before turning to the analysis of data from the two upland villages, I will first discuss two important aspects of miang production. In this section I describe the way in which miang is picked, processed and prepared for market, and the relationship existing between the producers in the hills, and the traders in the Valley. In the following section I present a model of the life cycle in pa miang, the final stage of which has been aspired to by the majority of migrants to the hills until comparatively recently.

As noted earlier, wild tea bushes were once widespread in the northern hills, and until very recently such wild bushes could be found and laid claim to by the hardy explorer, and put immediately into production. However, continuing movement of lowlanders into the hills has meant that in recent years most accessible bushes have by now been claimed. Furthermore, although miang can be produced from seeded bushes, they take five years to mature, and given the considerable labour input required for the clearance of forest for the foundation of such a plantation, as well as the growing scarcity of land in the hills, this alternative means of attaining ownership previously open to the poor peasant, has effectively ceased to exist.

For those with established orchards[1], whether owned or rented, picking of the leaf and its processing is a year-round task. The leaf is picked in four seasons, each lasting from three to six weeks, and totalling

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[1] Although 'orchard' would seem to be the most appropriate translation of suan here, in fact most holdings are much more haphazard than the term suggests, with bushes spread out across the hillside, interspersed with shrubbery and other trees.

about 100 days a year. The first harvest, hua pi[1], takes place during April and May and usually accounts for about 20% of the annual crop; the second, klang, between June and August, produces the greatest yield, some 40% of the annual crop. The soi harvest, between August and October produces 30%, and the final moei season, between October and December, though providing the smallest harvest, less than 10% of the total annual yield, produces some of the best quality miang which reaches the highest prices on the market.

During each season the miang pickers have to work quickly and for very long hours each day[2]. From the first light of dawn they treck from the village to their orchards which may be more than an hour's walk away, carrying with them baskets to transport the leaf home, thin strips of bamboo to tie the leaf into bundles, and a kho (a long wooden hook and rope), used to climb trees and reach the more inaccessible branches (see Figure 16c). Leaf to be picked must be carefully selected, being not too young and not too old, in order to produce the desired flavour and texture of miang. The leaf is then tied into kam (hand-sized bundles) ready for steaming. Each day a picker may collect between 40 and 80 kam.

In the evening, once the day's harvest has been brought home, the work continues well into the night. To avoid deterioration of the leaf and consequent spoiling of the flavour of the miang, it must be steamed as soon as possible after picking. The bundles of fresh leaf are packed tightly into a hai (a large wooden steaming cylinder), which is then

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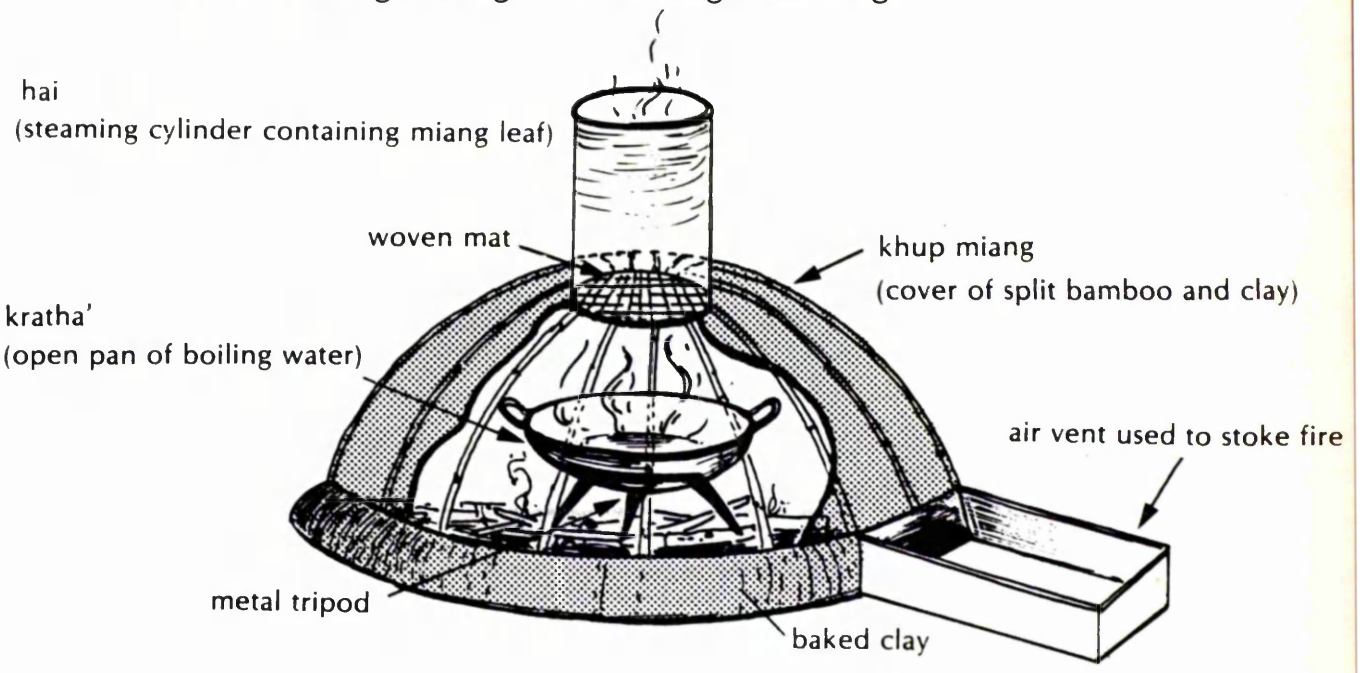
[1] This term is also used in the lowlands to refer to the main season irrigated rice crop.

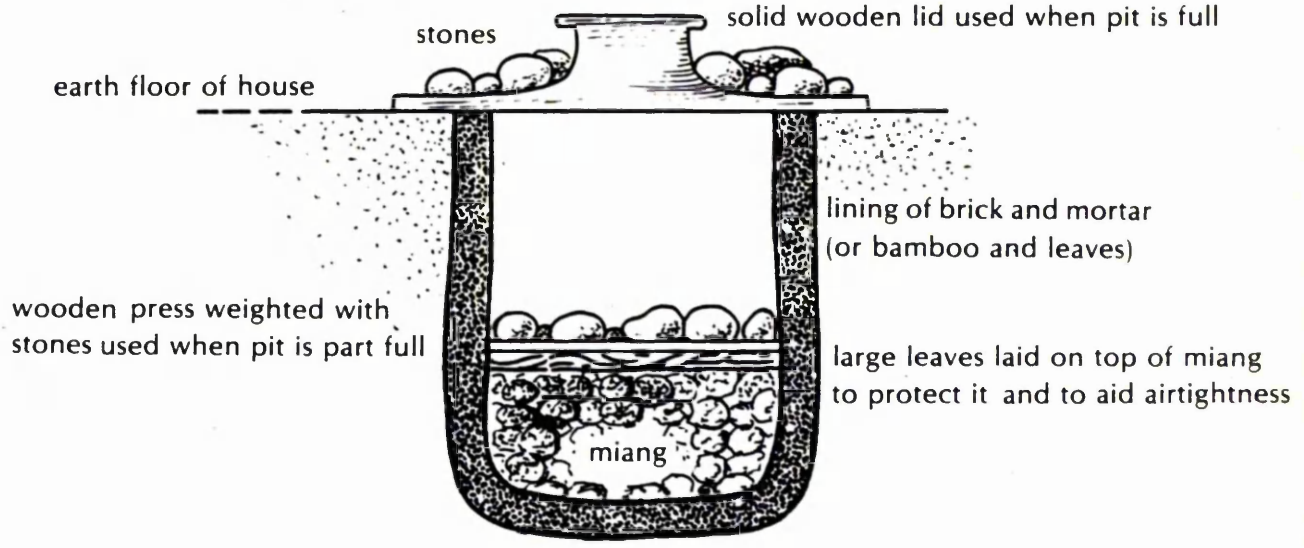
[2] The work involved in picking is extremely taxing; during the second and third harvests work must continue despite the monsoonal rains, adding to the everyday dangers and discomforts. The use of barbiturates and other drugs by miang pickers is said to be quite common.

Fig. 16. Equipment used in miang production

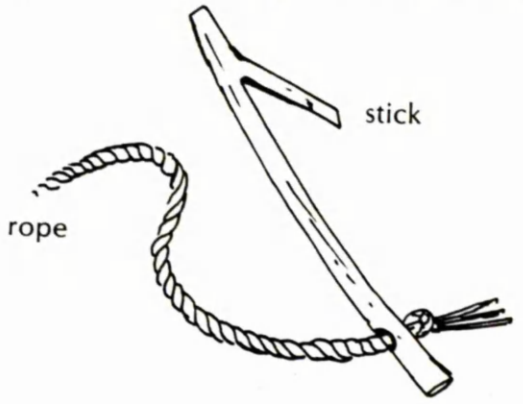
A Tao bung miang - the miang steaming oven



B Lum miang - the miang storage pit



C Kho miang - the climbing hook and rope



placed over the tao bung miang (steaming oven) in which a large metal pan of water is kept boiling over a fire (see Figure 16a). The fire must be tended throughout the steaming process which usually takes from 1½ to 2 hours. When the steamed leaf is removed from the hai it is spread out onto a large mat to cool. The original hand-sized bundles are then split into slightly smaller bundles and re-tied firmly with bamboo strips ready to be packed into the fermentation pits. The pits, lum miang (see Figure 16b), are sometimes as large as 1 metre in diameter by 2 metres deep and are gradually filled as the days go by. The contents are kept airtight by closing the mouth of the pit with a thick wooden press lined with leaves and weighted down with stones[1].

Depending on current market conditions and the immediate financial needs of the producing household, the miang may be removed for sale after only one month in the pit, but it is generally acknowledged that the longer fermentation has occurred, the more delicious the product, and therefore the higher the price. Periods of fermentation of up to one year are not uncommon, but 3-4 months would seem to be the average. When the miang is ready for sale it must be transported down to the lowlands by pack-oxen, each carrying two baskets containing 400-500 bundles. Meanwhile, those in the hills have little time to rest. In the weeks between each of the four picking seasons, everyone in the community is occupied in collecting wood

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[1] Van Roy reports that in all but one case observed by him, the miang was stored in bamboo baskets for fermentation (1971:96). However, in my own investigation of the same community (Village 12), I found that pits were the more common and preferred method, baskets being used only by the poorer or more recently arrived producers. Milne's description of storage pits used by the Palaung of Burma (quoted in LeBar 1967:109) corresponds exactly to my own observations. In some cases, if a houshold's production exceeded the capacity of its own pits, the partly fermented miang may be transported downhill to be 'finished off' in pits owned by traders in Ban Pong (for example see Appendix 6, Case 20).

for the steaming fires, chopping down trees[1] and cutting wood into small pieces to be stored in readiness for the next season. Bamboo must also be collected in considerable quantities, to be cut, shaved and trimmed for making baskets and wrapping strips.

The intensity of the work involved in the production of miang leaves the cultivators little time to grow other crops. Apart from small garden plots producing a few vegetables, and some food stuffs gathered from the forest, virtually all subsistence needs, most importantly rice, must be bought for cash and transported up from the Valley. Although swidden rice is occasionally purchased from neighbouring hill tribes such as the Lahu, this source contributes only a very small proportion of annual consumption needs.

Since he is involved entirely in the production of a non-subsistence crop, it is essential for the miang cultivator to maintain as small a household as possible in the hills in order to minimise cash expenditure on food. Apart from very young children, those of school age are usually sent to the Valley to live with kin until they are old enough to help with the picking (at about age 12-13). Meanwhile the workforce in the hills is added to when necessary by an influx of wage labourers from the Valley[2]. Labourers are generally employed on the basis of cash payment according to the number of bundles picked each day (usually 10฿ per 100 kam in 1974), in addition to board and lodging. As each picking season approaches, producers[3] from the hills come down to the Valley to recruit labour.

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[1] The ecological impact of the extensive use of forest trees is discussed by Keen (1972:63-64).

[2] In a few cases, study households included a resident luk cang (hired hand), or an adopted son or daughter, in order to increase the domestic work force (see Case 19 below).

[3] Although I have used this term in places to refer to both orchard owners and tenants, most labour recruiting producers are likely to be orchard owners

The wealthier producers often give cash advances to their prospective employees in the Valley, to help them through the weeks until work begins, and also to ensure that they will come to the hills when needed. In some cases labourers are kin of the producers, but more commonly they are neighbours of kin in the Valley. In most cases, however, they are selected from the producer's home village in the Valley. Quite commonly such arrangements carry over from one year to the next, and even from one generation to the next. Many marriages taking place in pa miang are between members of producer households and seasonal labourers, so the system may be seen as fulfilling an important social, as well as economic function. The significance of marriage patterns in pa miang will be discussed further below (see Section 8.7).

In the context of employment of seasonal labour it is the producer himself, whether orchard owner or tenant, who is the patron, providing an important source of seasonal employment for the landpoor and landless labourers in the Valley. However, the relationship between the hill and Valley dwellers operates in another, equally important way, for the marketing of the product. Although in some cases the producer may transport his miang down to the Valley using his own, or hired pack animals, and then sell the product to whoever offers the best price, in many cases he sells directly to a middleman, the phǫ liang miang. The phǫ liang ('patron' or 'benefactor') is generally a wealthy landowner in the Valley, often owning miang orchards as well as irrigated holdings. Many households in the hills have a regular arrangement with a particular phǫ liang (who may be the orchard owner himself in the case of tenant producers). The miang producer contracts to sell his crop each season in return for credit

in the form of cash or rice in advance of the harvest, whenever necessary. The operation of this system will be discussed in greater detail later (see Section 8.8). However it is important to recognise that this complex system of interdependency between the hill and Valley dwellers has been crucial, not only in the development and the durability of the miang industry, but also in providing the means for the emergence of a wealthy elite on the one hand, and of the survival of the poor on the other, in the Valley.

Thus it is not only the courageous entrepreneur who has benefited from Ban Pong's close association with the upland. As the joint processes of land fragmentation and the rapid growth in landlessness in Ban Pong have led to ever-increasing competition for tenancies and labouring opportunities among its swelling population, pa miang has provided an invaluable source of regular seasonal employment for many, and for a few the opportunity to by-pass the struggle for survival in the Valley, by making a living in the hills. An example of the type of conditions which have led to many families leaving Ban Pong to move into the hills in recent decades, is given in the words of one informant from Pang Ma'Oo in Village 9:

Case 18 : Mae Kham Canthawan[1] : Resident of pa miang

> 'When my parents were still alive things in Ban Pong were good, there was work, no problems. They owned 12 rai of wet-rice fields and some gardens. Then they got into debt and had to sell all their land. When they died there was nothing left. I was still a child when they sold their land, about 13-14 years old (about 1933). I knew nothing of their problems. They were very much in debt. I was their only child and after they both died they left me to deal with the rest of their debts, and I had to sell everything that remained, the house and all our possessions.

[1] Interviewed in Ban Pong in January 1974. Mae Kham had come to Ban Pong to deliver miang to her patroness, Phi Saeng In (see Appendix 6, Case 27).

Later I married Phọ Ui Nọi and he had a miang orchard of his own. We worked on that as well as on his father's wet-rice fields. Things were good again for a while, and we used to move up and down between Ban Pong and the hills, working very hard. Then my father-in-law died and we had to sell his land to pay for the funeral. Soon after this malaria struck, my husband became ill and we had to sell the miang orchard to pay for medicine. Our children were very young at the time. Then in 1962 my husband died and the little money we had left was spent on his funeral. There was absolutely nothing left.

That's when I decided to move up to the hills to work permanently in pa miang. I was thinking of the future, trying to improve my life because by then there was no work to be found in the valley. Each day we could make only a little bit of this or that. There wasn't enough to eat. Not enough to care for my family.

For the past eight years my children and I have worked on the orchards of Phi Seng In. She is very kind. If I am short of money she will lend me some. Then, when the miang is harvested I bring it down to her. Sometimes there is enough to eat, but sometimes there isn't. Things are so expensive these days - you know what kids are like with clothes - sometimes 100฿ for a single garment! But I'm OK as long as I have my rice and some dried fish, but food is so boring in the hills, there are so many shortages and we rarely have any fresh food. And rice is so costly now, we even have to pay for it to be brought up the mountain - 5฿ for every 20 litres! If you have a lot of children it is difficult to keep them fed. Sometimes we buy hill rice from the Muser (Lahu), but they don't produce enough for us to use all year round, and we don't have time to spare to grow our own. You can't afford to rest for a single day. If you're not picking leaves you are wrapping them into bundles or preparing wood for the steaming fires. All you can do up there is work without cease. You can't even rest when it rains. But at least there is work to do. In the valley there isn't even that any more.'

In a survey conducted in Ban Pong in March 1974, members of all households in Ban Pong were asked whether or not they had ever been involved in any way with the miang industry. Altogether 226 individuals from 162 households[1] stated that they had been, or still were involved in miang production. Members of 20 households currently owned miang orchards, and five of these were also involved in miang trade, as were a further five households who did not own orchards. Members of 12 other households had

[1] This represents 15.5% of the population aged 15 and over, and 35% of households in Ban Pong in 1974.

owned orchards in the past (six of them were also former traders in miang), but had since sold or bequeathed the orchards. Six other households had also been involved in the miang trade in the past. The distribution of these orchard owning and miang trading households are shown on Map 15.

180 individuals from 127 households (including 8 members of miang trading households), had also worked as seasonal labourers in pa miang, 81 of them during the 2-3 years prior to the survey. It was difficult to assess the time span involved since many respondents were vague in their replies. It would appear that such work is generally frequent but of short duration, in some cases regularly for successive years, and in others only from time to time. An important feature which emerged clearly from these data was that seasonal labourers in pa miang tend to be very young when first working in the hills (aged 13-15), and they usually stop after marriage[1]. With only one or two exceptions, all seasonal labourers (as well as the orchard owners and miang traders), had been involved in miang production in one or other of the hamlets in the two upland villages included in my survey.

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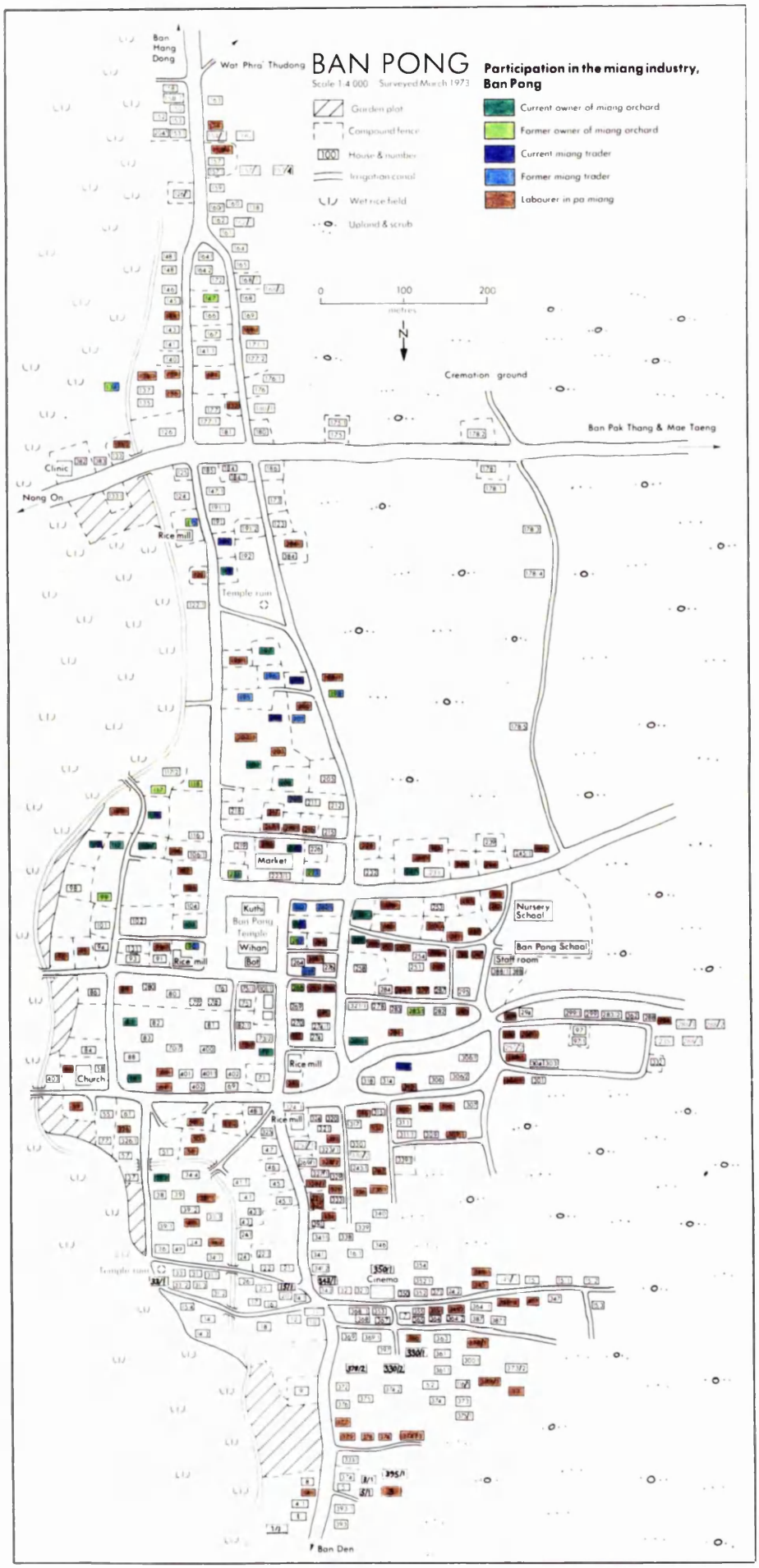
[1] Unless, of course, the marriage is to a resident of pa miang.


BAN PONG
Scale 1:4 000 Surveyed March 1973
Participation in the miang industry, Ban Pong
Garden plot
Compound fence
House & number
Irrigation canal
Wet rice field
Upland & scrub
Current owner of miang orchard
Former owner of miang orchard
Current miang trader
Former miang trader
Labourer in pa miang
0 100 200
metres
N
Ban Hang Dong
Wat Phra Thudong
Cremation ground
Ban Pak Thang & Mae Taeng
Clinic
Nong On
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Market
Kuti
Ban Pong Temple
Wihan
Bot
Nursery School
Ban Pong School
Staff room
Church
Cinema
Ban Den

MAP 15

Participation in the Miang Industry, Ban Pong

8.4 The Developmental Cycle in pa miang

Despite its comparatively recent evolution as an alternative means of livelihood to wet-rice cultivation for a section of the khon mu'ang population in Northern Thailand, the pattern of life in pa miang can be described in terms of a model, or developmental cycle, the fulfilment of which is aspired to by the majority of those involved (see Van Roy, 1972:104-112). Inevitably few families progress through the entire cycle, and many remain at a particular level throughout their lives, but members of Ban Pong's present-day élite provide the ultimate example of what can be achieved.

Earlier in this century, the first stage in the cycle was for a young man from the Valley to explore the hills during the slack agricultural period, in the hope of finding a grove of wild bushes to which he may lay claim. As mentioned earlier, such opportunities are no longer available, and the path to ownership of a miang orchard is much more laborious and time-consuming. Nowadays, the first stage in the cycle is generally for a young man or woman, or a recently married couple, to find work as seasonal labourers for kin or fellow villagers living in the hills. In some cases a marriage may result, providing the labourer with a short-cut to the third stage, working in orchards owned or rented by his parents-in-law. In other cases the second stage may be for a couple to set up home in the hills, hiring out their labour to their neighbours or, as we shall see later, to the nearby tea plantation.

The labourer's economic position in the hills is rapidly improved once he succeeds in setting up a tenancy arrangement with an orchard owner. Rent is generally calculated on a kin kha hua basis (as with the majority irrigated rice-field tenancies, see Chapter 7, p.320), whereby about 80%

of the main klang harvest is paid to the owner; the remainder, together with the entire crop of the other three harvests, is kept by the tenant, and sold by him[1]. Although such arrangements appear to be quite favourable to the tenant, variations in productivity, fluctuations in the market price of miang, and domestic crises such as sickness[2], can very quickly send the tenant into debt. In cases of tenants working on orchards owned by parents or other close kin, the payment may be considerably smaller, and occasionally no rental is charged at all.

If he is a careful manager and is blessed with good fortune, the tenant may, after a few years of hard work, accumulate sufficient capital to buy an orchard of his own[3]. In some cases an orchard may be inherited or, until recently, cleared, but nowadays purchase is the major means of acquisition[4]. Once he becomes an orchard owner, the miang producer's economic options expand considerably. He can choose whether or not to hire labour, and how much[5]; whether or not to diversify by picking some of his crop as tea (see Section 8.8 below); whether to invest in pack

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[1] In fact usually a tenant is not free to sell the miang wherever he wishes, but is obliged to sell to the owner or another phǫ liang. Tenants working on their parents' orchards have the additional advantage of freedom from such constraints.

[2] Sickness of a family member can lead to considerable expenditure for the miang producer because of the inaccessibility of health centres. Most upland communities lack the traditional healers found in most villages in the Valley (see Chapter 3, p.113).

[3] In my survey of pa miang, I found that although many tenants ended the year in debt, a few made as much as 2000฿ net profit. Orchard prices vary greatly according to their productivity, but in 1974 it was possible to buy one for 2000-5000฿.

[4] In my survey I recorded a number of cases in which a tenant had bought an orchard from his landlord, who was in some cases the tenant's parent or other close kinsman.

[5] In one study household in pa miang in 1974, a young couple had decided against their normal practice of hiring two labourers to assist in the harvest in view of a recent severe fall in miang prices. Although this meant that they would both have to work twice as hard as usual, the decision was made in order to avoid further depleting an already declining profit margin. Another couple decided simply to pick as much as they could themselves and leave the rest on the trees rather than hire any labour.

animals in order to cut transportation costs, or to hire them; whether to sell his product to a trader at source or to take it down to the valley to seek out the highest bidder, or to continue to sell to his regular phǫ liang. It is the choices made in such matters, combined with the critical factors of productivity, market conditions and the good health of his domestic work force, which determine an orchard owner's chances of success in the long term.

As the owner's family grows up and his domestic labour force increases, the next stage in the cycle may be for him to add to his resources by renting an additional orchard. This in turn may permit him to accumulate sufficient capital to buy further orchards of his own[1].

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[1] The potential advantages of expansion of the domestic labour force at this stage in the life cycle of the miang producer highlights an important factor which has recently become a further item on his list of critical decisions. Until the advent of family planning, the miang producer was as much a victim of chance in terms of his eventual family size as were people living in the valleys. However, since modern methods of family planning have become available, in the mid-1960s, another area of choice has emerged. As we have seen, in the early stages of the cycle it is greatly to the advantage of the producer to have as few dependents as possible. However, once he has become an orchard owner, or more critically, an owner-tenant, it is arguably to his advantage to have a large and self-sufficient domestic labour force, in order to avoid capital outlay on hiring additional labour. However, as we shall see later (Section 8.5), the rate of family planning acceptance among women in pa miang is even higher than in Ban Pong, particularly among young couples who are in the early stages of the developmental cycle. Such strong motivation to limit family size may certainly be interpreted as a reflection of the emphasis on short rather than long-term planning in these cases. The economic rationality of the choice is clear; a young couple's chances of achieving their short-term aim of becoming orchard owners is unquestionably enhanced by limiting their families in the early stages of the developmental cycle.

The next stage in the cycle is reached when an orchard owner has accumulated more orchards than he is able to operate directly himself. He then becomes a landlord and may rent out one or more of his orchards to other hill-dwelling families, in many cases his own married children. At this point he is approaching the final stage of the cycle - the return to the valley. As his capital has built up over the years he will already have begun to turn his attention towards the lowlands and may have purchased a wet-rice holding rented out to tenants in the valley. In the past when irrigated land was comparatively cheap and the price of miang high, this process would have taken a much shorter time than today when the situation is reversed. The final stage in the cycle is complete when the landlord sells or rents out all of his orchards and returns to the valley. There he may retire altogether, living on the rent of his land in the valley and his orchards in the hills, or he may further enhance his economic and social status by becoming a miang trader. At this point he will have earned the highly respected title of phǫ liang.

8.5 Pa miang Villages 9 and 12: Demographic Characteristics

In this section, the survey populations of the two miang villages are compared with each other, and with the population of Ban Pong, in terms of a number of important demographic characteristics. Analysis of data on the study populations are suggestive of a greater continuity of settlement in Village 9 than in Village 12. In almost half (11/24) of the households surveyed in Village 9, the head of household or his wife had been born in pa miang, as compared to less than a quarter (6/26) in Village 12. Data on the length of residence of members of survey households in the two villages (see Table 53) gives further support to this assertion.

Table 53

Length of Residence in pa miang: Survey Households, 1974[1]

Length of Residence	Village 9	Village 12
Less than 10 years	23.9%	27.4%
10-19 years	21.7	35.3
20-29 years	15.2	21.6
30-39 years	21.7	9.8
40-49 years	17.5	5.9

The age distribution of the survey population in the two villages also shows differences suggesting a more established community in Village 9, with the proportions of individuals in age groups over 30 similar to those found for Ban Pong, in contrast to Village 12 in which there is a heavy concentration in the 40-49 age group and a very small proportion of individuals aged 50 and over (see Table 54).

Table 54

Age Distribution: Survey Households, 1974 and Ban Pong, 1973

Current Age Group	Village 9	Village 12	Ban Pong
Under 10	9.7%	9.3%	18.0%
10-19	28.0	28.9	30.4
20-29	22.6	20.6	12.2
30-39	15.0	13.4	11.7
40-49	14.0	22.7	12.5
50 and over	10.7	5.1	15.2
Total Survey Population	93	97	2110

[1] Data used is for heads of household and their spouses only. For those born in pa miang, date of birth was used. Data on place of birth of children were omitted since it was quite common for a woman to return to Ban Pong to give birth.

Nevertheless, the two hill populations share certain demographic characteristics in common which diverge considerably from the valley population in Ban Pong. For example, the dependency ratio[1] of the pa miang survey households was a very low 30 in Village 12 and 35 in Village 9, as compared to 88 in Ban Pong. This reflects the practice, noted earlier, of sending school-aged children to live in the valley with kin, as well as the tendency for the old to return to the valley once they have passed working age.

Another important factor which emerges from the comparison of the two pa miang survey populations with that of Ban Pong, is the difference in sex ratios. The survey populations in Villages 9 and 12 have the same ratio (127), indicating a considerable excess of males, while Ban Pong's ratio is balanced (100). When the sex ratio of children under the age of 15 is compared for the hill and valley populations, the difference is even more striking, with a marked preponderance of young boys in pa miang (161), and a slight excess of young girls in Ban Pong (96). Given that neither the sex ratio at birth, nor the sex-specific death rates of infants and young children[2] differ significantly between hill and valley populations, it may be assumed that this considerable variation is mainly the result of selective migration. Indeed, examination of the household structure of the pa miang population indicated a marked preference for

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[1] i.e. the number of dependents to 100 of working age. In this case I have taken working age as 15-49 years, reflecting local perceptions of age limits in pa miang. Although, as noted earlier, picking work is often commenced before age 15, young workers are not expected to gather as much leaf per day as adults, and their rates of pay are considerably lower. At the upper end of the age scale, few producers actually continue to work as pickers beyond age 50 because of the severe physical strain involved in this type of work. The upper age limit of workers in irrigated fields in the lowlands is often considerably higher.

[2] Fertility histories were collected for all ever-married women in survey households in pa miang, and analyses similar to those described for the Ban Pong population in Chapter 2 were performed. In view of limitations of space, the results have simply been summarised here.

sending daughters to live in the valley rather than sons. At one level this practice can be interpreted in terms of economic strategy, in that before reaching full working age, sons can be profitably employed in the hills tending pack oxen and gathering firewood, while daughters are more usefully occupied caring for their grandparents in the valley. However, at another level, in view of the fact that in 75% of cases the daughters had moved to live with maternal grandparents in the lowlands, the pattern may be seen to reflect a greater adherence to the khon mu'ang traditions of matrilocality by the hill population[1], than that found in the population of Ban Pong as a whole[2].

As mentioned earlier, households in pa miang tend to be small, with an average of 3.9 people per study household in Village 9 and 3.7 in Village 12, as compared to 4.9 in Ban Pong. Apart from the practice of sending school-aged children to live in the valley with grandparents, and the early retirement to the lowlands of most of the elderly, in recent years miang villagers have also attempted to limit the size of their families by the use of family planning. Although, as we saw in Chapter 5, the rate of contraceptive practice in Ban Pong is particularly high, the rate among women in pa miang is even higher. Of 44 eligible women in the pa miang survey households, 33 (75%) had used contraception at some time, and 23 of them (52.3%) were currently doing so. The comparable figures for eligible women in Ban Pong in 1973 were 61% and 40%. As one might expect, this exceptionally high level of practice of contraception has resulted

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[1] Furthermore, 8 of the 9 extended households in the pa miang survey population were matrilocal. The remaining forty-one survey households were nuclear, and included 11 cases of married couples living alone, either childless, or with all children living in the valley, and three single-parent households.

[2] Traditional patterns of post-marital residence and the significance of the matrilocal principle to Northern Thai social structure, are discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

in an even lower level of fertility among women in pa miang in recent years than among those in Ban Pong (see Chapter 2). For example, the mean number of pregnancies, and living children of currently eligible women in pa miang were 2.8 and 2.1, as compared to 3.8 and 2.7 for women in Ban Pong. Differences in patterns of contraceptive practice between the two hill villages were small, and may be accounted for by variations in the age structure. Reasons for non-use or discontinuation of contraception were similar to those found for women in Ban Pong (see Chapter 5, pp.221-222).

8.6 Pa miang Villages 9 and 12: Ownership, Labour and Productivity

The mountainous areas in which the miang orchards are found are within the territory of the Government Forest Reserve. Prior to 1960 occupants of hill lands had no legal tenure at all, a fact belied by the frequent sales of upland holdings. However, in recognition of the growing population of Thai peoples living and gaining their livelihood in the hills, the Government introduced new legislation in 1960 which empowered District Officers to issue certificates granting usehold title for land under permanent cultivation. Full legal title, which would enable the owner to sell his land legally, has not been granted (see Keen, 1972:57). In recognition of this subtle legal distinction, miang producers talk in terms of ownership of the trees themselves, rather than of the land on which they grow. In fact, the actual size of an orchard is of little importance to its owner; its value depends on the yield of the trees contained within it, and is expressed in terms of the total number of kam (bundles) picked in an average year (e.g. suan mɯ'n kam, 'a 10,000 bundle orchard').

Twenty-nine of the 50 study households (58%) owned one or more orchards, six of them renting out some of their orchards and 10 renting in additional orchards; 17 households were full tenants, and the remaining 4 depended entirely on wage labour. The distribution of ownership of orchards in the two villages is given below in Table 55.

Table 55

Ownership of miang Orchards: Survey Households 1974

Household	Village 9	Village 12
Landlords	4	2
Owner-tenants	4	9
Owners	4	6
Tenants	12	5
Labourers	-	4
Total No. Households	24	26

Although a greater proportion of survey households in Village 12 were orchard owners than in Village 9 (65% and 50% respectively), owners in Village 9 owned a greater number of orchards than those in Village 12 (33 orchards owned by 12 households in Village 9 as compared to 28 orchards owned by 17 households in Village 12).

The distribution of households according to their current position in the developmental cycle described earlier, indicates a much more highly differentiated community in Village 9 than in Village 12, with half of the study households in this village currently working as tenants, and 1 in 6 being landlords. In Village 12, well over half of the study households were owners or owner-tenants. Analysis of the time and mode of acquisition of orchards owned by survey households (Table 56), shows that in both villages the majority of orchards had been acquired since the mid-1950s

(as one would expect in view of the low average age of producers), and that purchase had been the predominant means of acquisition. However, there is some evidence to suggest that Village 12 is a more recent settlement in that 25% of orchards owned by study households in this village had been cleared by the current owner, as compared to only 9% in Village 9.

Table 56

Time and Mode of Acquisition of miang Orchards: Survey Households

Time of Acquisition	Village 9				Village 12			
	Bought	Cleared	Inh'd	Total	Bought	Cleared	Inh'd	Total
1965-74	16	1	1	18	8	2	-	10
1955-64	9	2	1	12	11	2	2	15
1945-54	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	3
pre 1945	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Total	28	3	2	33	19	7	2	28

The average annual yield of an orchard is, as we have seen, the most important indicator of its value and of the wealth of its owner. Yields of all orchards owned and rented by survey households are given in Table 57.

Table 57

Yield of miang Orchards: Survey Households 1974

Yield in kam	Village 9		Village 12	
	Tenants	Owners[1]	Tenants	Owners[1]
under 10,000	1	2[2]	1	2[3]
10-20,000	7	7	1	9
21-30,000	4	2	2	4
31-40,000	-	-	-	2
100,000	-	1	-	-
Total	12	12	4[4]	17

[1] Including owner-tenants and landlords.

[2] Both are major tea producers, hence low yield in miang.

[3] One of these is a major tea producer, hence low yield in miang.

[4] One tenant households had only just begun the tenancy in 1974 and did not know the average yield of the orchard. The remaining four households in Village 12 are all wage labourers.

The figures given in Table 57 do not indicate any significant differences in the range of miang yields reported by study households in the two villages. However, the proximity of the Raming Tea Company plantation has led to some diversification among miang producers in the area. The yield figures for miang must therefore be considered together with those for tea production by study households (Table 58).

Table 58

Tea Production: Survey Households 1974

	Village 9	Village 12
Never produced tea	12	13
Wage labourer on tea plantation	-	3
Produce tea occasionally but not this year	3	5
Produce tea currently:		
100ks. or less	-	3
101-500 ks.	3	-
501-1000 ks.	2	-
Over 1000 ks.	3	1
Quantity unknown (1st time this year)	1	1
Total No. Households	24	26

Proportionately twice as many survey households in Village 9 were currently producing tea as in Village 12. Furthermore, with one exception, production of tea by households in Village 12 was on a very small scale, while in Village 9 considerable tea production was reported by a third of the study households. Two of the smaller tea producers in Village 9 are tenants (in both cases working orchards belonging to their parents), but the remainder in both villages are orchard owners. In most cases tea production had commenced only recently, within a year or two of the survey, as a response to falling miang prices. In Village 9 only two of the tea

producers (who are brothers) had picked tea for more than ten years, as has the one large producer in Village 12. Although some of the larger tea producers were picking tea in three of the four seasons at the time of the survey, none of them had given up miang production entirely. The implications of the change from miang to tea are discussed in greater detail later (see Section 8.8).

As noted earlier, ownership of pack animals can significantly enhance a household's economic situation, since they provide not only the means to transport the household's own crop to the valley without payment to middlemen, but can also be rented out to other producers and traders (at a rate of 60-80฿ per 1000 kam in 1974). Furthermore, returns on the original investment are increased if young are born, and animals can readily be sold if cash is required urgently. Despite such obvious advantages, the risks involved in ownership of pack animals, such as illness, injury or theft, and the fact that they require constant supervision and care, have discouraged all but the wealthier or more ambitious producers from making such an investment. Only 2 of the 26 households in Village 12 owned oxen (a total of 17 animals, or 0.17 per capita); in both cases the producers are tenants working their parents' orchards and had been given the oxen by their parents on their return to the valley. In a third case in Village 12, a somewhat older householder from a similarly long-standing miang producing family, had bought his father's orchard and oxen when the latter had returned to Ban Pong ten years earlier. However, when all three of his children had subsequently left pa miang to attend school in Ban Pong he was forced to sell the oxen as there was no-one to tend them.

In contrast, 7 of the 24 households in Village 9 owned oxen in 1974 (a total of 63 animals, or 0.65 per capita). Apart from two cases similar to those described above, of young tenant families who had been entrusted with oxen as well as orchards by their parents, the five other households in Village 9 who own pack animals are at the upper end of the developmental cycle, being well-established orchard-owners and including three of the four landlords in the village. The way in which ownership of pack animals is related to different patterns of interaction between members of the two communities and the phǫ liang, will be discussed later (see Section 8.8).

The ultimate mark of success, according to the traditional model, which is still aspired to by many who seek their livelihood in pa miang, is the purchase of lowland irrigated fields. It was surprising therefore to find that in 3 cases informants in the survey households had previously sold an irrigated holding in the Valley in order to buy a miang orchard. In two further cases an irrigated holding had been sold to repay debts incurred during a family illness. In each of these five cases, the holdings had originally been acquired through inheritance. Only eight of the 50 survey households currently own irrigated fields, 3 from Village 9 and 5 from Village 12. In two cases (both in Village 9), the land had been inherited, but the remaining six owners had bought their holdings since moving to pa miang, in all cases within the last ten years. Five of the holdings are in Ban Pong Valley and the other three are further north at Mae Thalai and Mae Na' (see Map 14). All but one of the holdings is rented out to tenants living in the valley, providing a valuable contribution to the annual rice needs of the hill-dwelling owners. In just one case a very energetic man and his wife regularly journey up and down between the valley and the hills in order to produce their own rice crop as well as harvesting their miang (see also Case Study 18, above).

The considerable differences found between study households in the two upland villages in terms of their patterns of production and marketing will be discussed in detail later (Section 8.8). However, at this point it is worthy of note that producers in Village 12 appear to be more likely to purchase lowland fields than those in Village 9. This constitutes a further factor indicating the greater adherence to the traditional model of the developmental cycle in Village 12, as compared to the more progressive independent quality found among producers in Village 9.

The majority of study households in both villages supplement their domestic labour force with additional labour hired at harvest time. Only five households in each of the two villages are self sufficient in terms of labour. Most of the households which do not hire additional labour are tenants or owners of small orchards with low productivity, which the 2-3 working-age members of the households can readily harvest themselves. The two exceptions are in Village 12, and both of these households have 6 resident members of working age. The overwhelming majority of seasonal labourers are from Ban Pong (see pp.366-368), the remainder coming from other hill villages or other villages in Ban Pong Valley. As many as 100 labourers are hired each year by the 36 survey households requiring additional labour (an average of 2.7, and ranging from 1-12), though in years when yield is below average, or the demand for miang is down, the number may be somewhat smaller. Slightly less than half of the seasonal labourers are related by kinship to the producing household, the remainder being neighbours of kin living in the Valley (see Map 15).

8.7 Pa miang Villages 9 and 12: Kinship Links with Ban Pong

The close ties linking members of each of the survey households in Villages 9 and 12 with Ban Pong were, of course, my original reason for selecting them for the study. In Village 9, 28 of the household heads and/or their spouses had been born in Ban Pong, and 31 in Village 12 (61% and 62% respectively), while most of those who had been born in the hills were the children of people from Ban Pong. In the majority of cases, the parents of either the household head or his spouse had at some time in the past been resident in pa miang themselves, and quite often this was true of the parents of both husband and wife. In some cases current residents of pa miang had purchased (and in a few cases, inherited) orchards from their parents, having worked at an earlier stage as labourers or tenants on their parents' (or parents-in-law's) orchards until the latter had returned to the valley. The parents of other current residents, having worked for many years as labourers or tenants themselves, had returned to the valley without ever having become orchard owners.

An interesting fact which emerges from an examination of the data concerning parents or grandparents of current residents in pa miang is that in many cases they were migrants from Doi Saket or Mu'ang Districts of Chiengmai, the same two districts from which many of Ban Pong's present-day elite had come, whose wealth, as we have seen, was based on their early exploitation of the miang market (see Chapter 7). I would suggest therefore that the parents or grandparents of current residents of pa miang had started out at a similar point in the hill-valley developmental cycle, in which Ban Pong's elite represent the ultimate achievement, but had failed to reach a similar level of success. Examples are given in Case Study 19 below.

The enduring monopoly of all aspects of miang production and marketing by people with a common migratory history has been reinforced by their extensive intermarriage. All fifty survey households are linked by kinship ties, and 42 of them are linked by primary ties (i.e. siblings, children or grandchildren), of at least one of their members, to just 10 households in Ban Pong. Although members of more than 160 households in Ban Pong have been involved at some time with miang production, in most cases as seasonal labourers, the fact that so many of the married couples in survey households are linked with so few households in Ban Pong, would indicate that their choice of marriage partners has been strongly selective. This process might be seen as an overt strategy to conserve resources in the hills (resources which at one time provided one of the few means by which capital could be accumulated), by the formation of a tightly-knit, kinship-based monopoly, by people of similar origins.

The following extended Case Study provides a typical example of various features common to most of the study households. Specific circumstances and conditions have shaped each household's fortunes, and the families included in the Case Study provide examples of the different levels of success achieved by those who have sought to improve their economic status by working in pa miang. Because of the complexity of kinship ties linking members of the different survey households with each other and with families in Ban Pong, the boundary of the group presented here is somewhat arbitrary, since as mentioned earlier it could be extended ultimately to include all 50 study households. To simplify matters I have taken the case of one man, Phǫ Cai Khaomai and his wife Mae Khiao, their children, and Mae Khiao's three younger sisters. However, the fact that many links of kinship exist between the various individuals included in the Case Study and members of other survey households in pa miang and in Ban Pong should not be overlooked.

Case 19: Phǫ Cai Khaomai, House No. 202 : Miang Orchard Owner

A cousin of Phǫ Nan Srithǫn (see Chapter 7, Case 3), Phǫ Cai came to Ban Pong in 1912, at the age of 15, from Doi Saket District, together with his mother's elder brother Phǫ Ui Wang. He married his first wife, Mae Khiao, a migrant from Lampang, three years later, and during the first years of their marriage they divided their time between Ban Pong and pa miang, working on the irrigated holdings and miang orchards cleared by Mae Khiao's father. In 1928, following the death of her father, Mae Khiao inherited a 10 rai holding in the Valley, and one of the miang orchards.

Phǫ Cai and his wife had five children, two sons and three daughters, who spent much of their youth working on their mother's orchard in Pang Ma'Oo (Village 9). During the 1930s and 1940s, they increased their upland holding by buying two more orchards. In 1960, Phǫ Cai and Mae Khiao returned permanently to Ban Pong[1], leaving their orchards in the hands of their children.

In 1940, their eldest daughter, Som, married a landless labourer from Ban Pong who had come to pa miang as a seasonal worker. Together they worked as tenants on one of Phǫ Cai's orchards until they had saved enough money to buy an orchard of their own in 1959, and another in 1964. For the past ten years they have picked tea in two seasons, selling it on a regular basis to the Raming Tea Company. They do not sell their miang to a regular buyer, but to whoever offers them the best price in the hills. In 1974 they were living with three of their five children in Pang Ma'Oo. Their eldest daughter has married and moved to Fang where she works as a trader, and their second daughter, recently married to her cousin (see Figure 17), lives in a separate household in Pang Ma'Oo renting an orchard from Nai Phrom Caroentakhin in Ban Pong (House No.98).

Phǫ Cai's second daughter, Nǫi, married a migrant from Doi Saket, Nai Ta Kantawong, in 1942. They lived in Pang Ma'Oo until 1960, and seven of their eight children were born there. Having been unsuccessful in their attempts to save enough to buy their own orchard, they returned to Ban Pong at the same time as Phǫ Cai and Mae Khiao to work as tenants on Mae Khiao's irrigated holding[2]. Seven of their children live with them in Ban Pong, while their third child, a son, has recently married his cousin in Pang Ma'Oo (see above).

Phǫ Cai's third child, a son, Kham, had managed to clear an orchard of his own by 1957, and within five years it had become productive. In 1961 he married a woman from Ban Pong, Nang Khiao. In addition to their own two children, they have an adopted son, aged 21 (the younger brother of Nang Khiao's sister-in-law), who has lived with them, helping to pick their miang, since 1962. Because of poor miang prices in recent years, in 1974 Nai Kham had begun to pick tea for the first time, and was planning to sell it to the Raming Tea Company. He sells his miang on a regular basis to Nai Khampan Phromasen, the wealthiest landlord currently living in Pang Ma'Oo.

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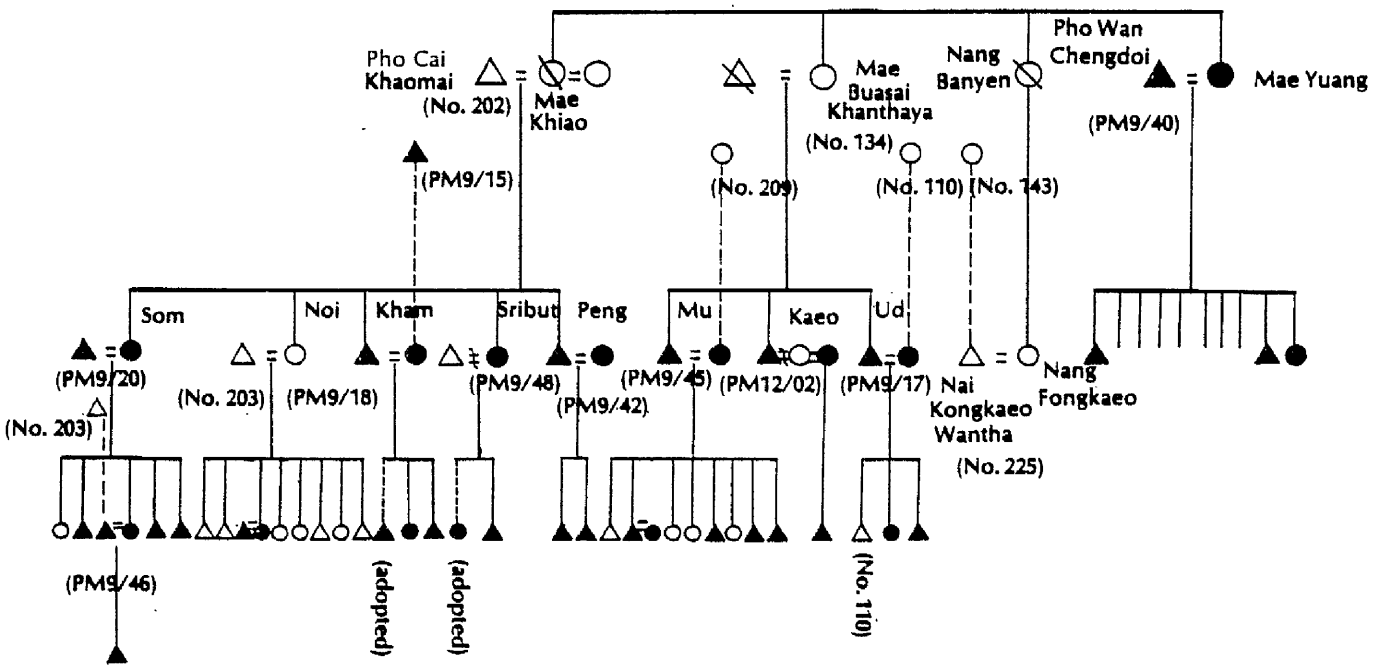
[1] In 1964, Mae Khiao was murdered. Phǫ Cai sold her 10 rai irrigated holding in order to pay the police to capture her killer, but the culprit was never found. Two years later he married an elderly childless widow, Mae Ui Nǫi.

[2] Following the death of Mae Khiao, and the sale of her land, Nǫi and her husband became tenants of a neighbour, farming a 7 rai holding.

Figure 17: Genealogy for Case No. 19.



All individuals marked ▲and ● were resident in Pang Ma'Oo, Village 9, in 1974.* House numbers of kin resident in Ban Pong are given thus (No. 203), while those in pa miang are given (PM9/02).

(* Except Kaeo and family in Village 12)

Phǫ Cai's fourth child, Sribut, was divorced from her husband in 1968 after having only one child. She also has an adopted daughter aged 18. Since Phǫ Cai returned to Ban Pong in 1960, Sribut has worked on one of his orchards at a minimal rental, and a second which she received from him as a gift. In 1974 she contracted to work a third orchard for an owner living in Chiengmai. For the past three years she has collected miang in only two of the four seasons, picking tea for the rest of the year. She sells her tea to the Raming Tea Company, and hires cattle to transport her miang down to Ban Pong where she sells it to the highest bidder.

Phǫ Cai's youngest son, Peng, married a woman from Nǫng Ǫn in 1964. For the first few years of their marriage they lived in Ban Pong in a house bought by Peng some years earlier. Since moving to the hills they have rented out the house to another family in Ban Pong. Peng and his wife have two children, living with them, and a resident helper, a young man born in Pang Ma'Oo. They own three orchards, one a gift from Phǫ Cai, and the others bought during the last few years. They work two of the orchards themselves, and rent out the third to Peng's mother's youngest sister, Mae Yuang Chengdoi, who lives elsewhere in Pang Ma'Oo (see below). Peng owns five oxen which he has bought to transport his crop. For the past ten years he has collected tea in all but the klang harvest. He sells his tea directly to the Raming Tea Company, and takes his miang down to Ban Pong himself to sell it to the highest bidder.

In the years following their arrival in Ban Pong from Lampang in 1910, Mae Khiao's parents had cleared a large irrigated holding which was later divided between their four surviving daughters. All four daughters and their husbands had become involved in miang production during the 1920s and 1930s. The second daughter, Buasai (House No.134) and her husband, a migrant from Doi Saket, lived for some time in Pang Ma'Oo, and her three sons were all born there. Following the death of her husband in the early 1960s, Mae Buasai returned to Ban Pong where she continued to work as a miang trader, while renting out her 10 rai inherited holding in the Valley. Her three sons still live and work in pa miang.

Mae Buasai's oldest son, Mu, is married to a daughter of her neighbour Mae Tha Phromasen, (House No.209), also a migrant from Doi Saket[1], who had spent many years living in Pang Ma'Oo with her family, and still works as a miang trader. Mu and his wife now own six orchards, and ten oxen, and are prominent patrons in Village 9. Mae Buasai's second son, Kaeo, has never succeeded in buying an orchard of his own. He and his second wife have recently left Village 9 and moved to Pang Wiang Dong in Village 12 where they rent an orchard from a phǫ liang in Ban Pong. Mae Buasai's youngest son, Ut, is married to the elder step-daughter of Phǫ Cai Thepawong (see Appendix 6, Case 26), who had come to pa miang as a young girl with her parents. They own one orchard which Ut has bought from his father. In 1973, Ut decided to pick tea during the soi season and sold 1200 ks. to the Raming Tea Company. As a result of this success he has now rented an additional orchard from the Company which he will use exclusively for tea picking.

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[1] Mae Tha Phromasen was married to her cousin, also a migrant from Doi Saket. Mae Tha, her husband, and the husband of Mae Buasai were all from the same village (Ban Pa Fong) in Doi Saket.

Mae Khiao and Mae Buasai's third sister, Nang Banyen, died young after having only one daughter. The daughter, Fǫngkaeo, spent much of her youth with Mae Khiao and Phǫ Cai working on their miang orchards in Pang Ma'Oo. Later she became a well-established miang trader, earning herself the name mae liang (female patron). In 1968 she was married for the second time to Kǫngkaeo Wantha, himself an extremely successful entrepreneur and phǫ liang miang (see Appendix 6, Case 22)[1].

The youngest of the four sisters, Mae Yuang, was born in Ban Pong in 1916. She and her husband Phǫ Wan Chengdoi, who had come to Ban Pong from Doi Saket in the 1920s, lived for the early part of their marriage with her parents in Ban Pong. At that time they worked as tenants on her parents' irrigated holding, and later on her share of the inheritance. In the late 1940s Mae Yuang and Phǫ Wan got seriously into debt following a family illness, and had to sell their irrigated holding. They then decided to move to Pang Ma'Oo to join Mae Yuang's sisters and their families, who were still living there at that time. At first they rented an orchard from Phǫ Cai and Mae Khiao. However, with their large family of ten children, they were never able to become orchard owners themselves, and in 1974 they were still working as tenants on two orchards (one of which is now owned by Phǫ Cai's youngest son), helped by three of their children who still live with them. They hope to return to Ban Pong one day, but realise that there is little chance of their ever becoming owners of either miang orchards in the hills or of irrigated fields in the Valley.

8.8 Tradition and Change in pa miang: the phǫ liang miang and the expansion of the tea industry

On the basis of his analysis of Northern Thai economic systems, Van Roy concluded that the phǫ liang miang in the valley and his miang producer clients in the hills, represent a highly specialised form of a basic feature of Northern Thai social structure which he calls the 'entourage' (after Hanks, 1966). According to Van Roy, such hierarchically-based relationships, perpetuated by a system of delayed reciprocity, pervade all areas of Northern Thai life (1971:124). On this assumption he argues that the strength of such ties, in this case linking the various participants in the miang industry, has inhibited the producers from

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[1] Following the death of her second husband in 1978, Fǫngkaeo returned to live in the home of her uncle, Phǫ Cai (in House No.202).

responding more readily to the opportunity for profitable economic diversification offered by the nearby tea factory (ibid.:137). I do not intend to go into the question of the significance of the 'entourage' system in the present-day lowland economy since it is outside the scope of this study. However I would agree with the conclusions of Delaney, that:

> '...the upland grower's insecurity and basic dependence on the distant valley market system...both for selling and shipping their non-staple (miang) and for buying subsistence goods...conditioned them to attempt to stabilize and regulate network relationships, particularly with middlemen. A prominent patron-client system, therefore, developed to cope with the insecurities of upland horticulture.' (1977:21)

Nevertheless, my own data show considerable divergence from Van Roy's, a factor which on the one hand no doubt results from the significant changes which had occurred in the market demand for miang during the ten years between his fieldwork and my own, and on the other hand was influenced by his selection of Village 12 for study. I hope to show that as the price of miang has fallen in recent years, the traditional arrangement between miang producers and the phǫ liang has become more and more unsatisfactory. The tendency for producers in Village 9 to break away from the traditional 'entourage' system is, I would suggest, largely attributable to the presence in that village of a number of well-established, imaginative and ambitious orchard owners (see the case of Nai Khampan Phromasen below), who have for many years been searching for ways to improve their economic position in the face of changing conditions in the North. It is this flexibility which has enabled them to exploit more readily the increasingly favourable opportunities presented by the tea factory, while producers in Village 12, who in almost all cases still maintain close ties with a phǫ liang in the valley, have been unable to diversify in this way, and have been trapped into a progressively unsatisfactory and unprofitable situation.

Describing the attitude of people in Village 12 to the phǫ liang in the early 1960s, Van Roy writes:

> '(The phǫ liang) is not a demanding master but a benevolent patron. The relationship between him and his miang-cultivating clients does not respond in any immediate fashion to market forces but deals in terms of varying degrees of trust and affection, obligations to return benefits received and anticipations of benefits to be gained.' (1971:120-121)

A significantly different attitude was evident in the responses of the large majority of my own informants in 1974, both in Village 9 and Village 12, for example:

> 'Phǫ liang, mae liang means whoever we currently rent orchards from, or whoever we sell our miang to regularly. They help us - if we have no rice they will send us enough to eat - but we try to avoid this situation because if we accept rice from the phǫ liang, we are obliged to sell him all our miang at a very low price, so we cannot make any profit. If a phǫ liang has agreed to always buy our miang, we are unable to sell to anyone else, however little he pays us for it.'

Such conflicting interests in relationships between phǫ liang and their clients were also noted by Keen, in his study of Village 9 in 1969 (see 1972:58-59 and 1978:257-258).

In 1964, Van Roy learned from his informants in Village 12 that of the 200 or more known phǫ liang, the five most important at that time were all resident in Ban Pong (1971:136, note 74). Although Van Roy does not identify them by name, I was able to do so with the help of my informants. Two of the major phǫ liang miang mentioned by Van Roy were Phǫ Suriya', who has since died and been succeeded by his daughter Phi Seng In (see Appendix 6, Case 27), and Phǫ Lung Kaeo Sethi, late husband of Mae Ui Niu (Appendix 6, Case 25) whose son, Som, has since taken over his miang interests. Three other major phǫ liang miang referred to by Van Roy, all of whom had subsequently sold their orchards and ceased to be involved in the miang trade, are Phǫ Nan Srithǫn (Chapter 7, Case 3), Phǫ Nǫi Kaeo

(Chapter 7, Case 5), and Phǫ Ui Mu'n, late husband of Mae Ui Sai (Chapter 7, Case 4). Two less prominent phǫ liang who were active at the time of Van Roy's study, and whose trading interests have since been taken over by their sons, were Phǫ Intha' (Appendix 6, Case 24), and Phǫ Nǫi Oo (Appendix 6, Case 20). Only three of Ban Pong's present-day phǫ liang, Kǫngkaeo Wantha and his wife Fǫngkaeo (see Case 19 above and Appendix 6, Case 22), and Suwan Chaimani (Appendix 6, Case 23), come from families which, although formerly involved in miang production, had never been particularly successful.

Of the 22 miang producing households surveyed in Village 12 (excluding the four which were entirely dependent on wage labour), all but three have a regular arrangement to sell their miang to one of the major phǫ liang in Ban Pong. Although the majority of these producers (17/22) are orchard owners, a number of them also rent additional orchards (9/17), some of which belong to the phǫ liang to whom the producer regularly sells his miang. The three exceptions are of interest: the first, Nai Ru'an Kanthanuan, is the only member of the study households in Village 12 who is a regular and substantial tea producer (7-8000 ks. a year). For the past 15 years he has sold his tea to Khun Suriya' Phumthut, a middleman in Mae Taeng, and a nephew of the founder of the Raming Tea Company, who has set up in competition offering slightly higher prices than the company[1]. The other two producing households in Village 12 which do not have a regular arrangement with a phǫ liang in Ban Pong are the two tenant households referred to earlier (see p.383 above), who work on

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[1] It is worthy of note here that Nai Ru'an, as well as the major tea producers in Village 9, refer to Khun Suriya' and his counterpart at the Raming headquarters, as phǫ liang cha. Indeed, a relationship based on a similar pattern of obligations and expectations as found with the phǫ liang miang, has been deliberately fostered by the tea merchants, to overcome initial reluctance of the miang producers to change to tea.

their parents' orchards. This situation has allowed them to operate more freely than other producers in this Village, so that they can sell their miang outside the bounds of the traditional system.

The situation in Village 9 is quite different. Only 6 of the 24 survey households sell their miang regularly to phǫ liang in Ban Pong, a further two sell regularly to other households in Village 9[1], and two others sell to their parents in the Valley. The remaining 14 producer households have no regular buyer for their miang. Sometimes they sell to one or other of the phǫ liang or their agents, when they come up to the hills to buy from their regular clients, while at other times they transport their miang down to the valley for sale, using their own, or hired, pack animals. The point of sale is determined by the most favourable price offered. As noted earlier, 7 of the survey households in Village 9 own oxen, so they are not dependent on a phǫ liang to arrange transportation. This break from traditional trading relationships by the majority of producers in Village 9 would appear to have occurred some years ago since Keen had already observed the phenomenon in 1969 (1972:104). The considerable financial advantage of independence from the phǫ liang was also noted by Keen (1978:261), who found that in 1969 100 kam sold to a phǫ liang in the hills would reach about 3.5฿ as compared to 7.5฿ if sold directly to a retailer in Chiengmai.

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[1] In these two cases the local middlemen were said specifically not to function as phǫ liang to the producers since there was no expectation of credit facilities.

A factor which has been critical in this radical break with tradition occurring in Village 9 is that many of the orchards now owned by the major producers in that Village were previously the property of three of the former phǫ liang miang in Ban Pong, Phǫ Nan Srithǫn, Phǫ Nǫi Kaeo and Phǫ Ui Mu'n, all of whom had sold their considerable upland holdings during the mid-to-late 1960s. In addition to selling their orchards (which, in most cases, had been bought by their former tenants or clients in Village 9), they had also ceased to function as miang traders, thus opening up the way for the new owners to find alternative market outlets for their miang.

The greater freedom of producers in Village 9 has also enabled them to take advantage of the market for tea, and, as we have seen, 7 of them do so on a regular basis. Yet another feature of the Village 9 producers' greater independence from the miang monopoly of the phǫ liang in Ban Pong, is that a number of them regularly sell their miang to traders outside the Valley, notably in Fang. Thus not only are the independent producers able to sell their miang wherever and to whoever offers the best price, but they can also choose to produce part or most of their crop as tea, thus minimising the risks of fluctuating miang prices.

The evidence of one of my informants in Village 9, Nai Khampan Phromasen (grandson of one of Ban Pong's first miang producers, see p.358 above), suggests that such patterns are not a result of historical accident, but of deliberate economic reasoning. As Wijeyewardene has noted:

> 'Where capital is short and under-employment rife, yet labour scarce at crucial periods of the year, patron-client arrangements represent a rational form of insurance as well as a mechanism for giving and receiving discounts...(but)...When opportunity presents itself Northern Thai farmers appear to be able to give up the 'old ways'...with clear-headed market evaluations.' (1972:427. My emphasis)

Nai Khampan described how in the early 1960s he had become aware that despite owning several very productive orchards, his profits were poor because of the low prices paid by his phǫ liang (who was at the time Phǫ Nǫi Kaeo Chaimongkhon). He decided therefore to learn about the operation of the miang trade for himself, and moved down to Ban Pong for two years, leaving his wife and children to run his orchards. Once he felt confident of his trading skills, he bought several pack-oxen and returned to the hills. He subsequently expanded his holdings by buying 3 more orchards from his former phǫ liang, and now makes a handsome annual profit (his total yield averaged more than 100,000 kam). He takes his miang for sale to a number of places including Chiengmai town, Fang, Chieng Dao and Mae Taeng, to take advantage of local price variations. His original 3 oxen have now increased in number to 12, and he has recently bought 3 horses (the first person in his village to do so). In 1974 recognising the greater potential profits to be gained from tea, he decided to follow the example of some of his fellow villagers and planned to pick part of his harvest as tea.

Another way in which Nai Khampan and his fellow producers in Village 9 are hoping to improve their economic position is by the communually planned[1] construction of a new road to by-pass the one running through the property of the Raming Tea Company, at present the only vehicular road leading to the lowlands. By building their own road the producers would avoid the considerable levies charged (unofficially) by the Company for all goods and passengers travelling on their private section of the road. They have sought help in this venture from Khun Suriya', the tea merchant in Mae Taeng who operates in competition with the Raming Company and who would benefit greatly if the plan succeeds (since Nai Khampan and

[1] The idea was originally conceived by Nai Khampan but it now has the enthusiastic support of the majority of other producers in Village 9.

his fellow villagers would then further reduce their production of miang in favour of tea which they would sell to Khun Suriya'). At present the Raming Company pays below the market price for tea, and will not allow tea carried on its road to be sold anywhere else. Thus at present any producer wishing to sell his tea in Mae Taeng or elsewhere has to transport it all by pack animal down precarious mountain tracks.

In addition to arguing that the supposed reluctance of miang producers to change to tea is a result of the continuing importance of traditional patron-client relationships, Van Roy gives technical reasons for this alleged conservatism. He states that to adapt an orchard from miang to tea would mean '...severe pruning, a difficult and dangerous job...' (1971:229), involving considerable risk and delay before reaching full productivity. As a result, he argues, there is a '...built-in resistance against alteration of the upland Thai peasant economy from a miang base to tea...' (ibid:95, my emphasis), and that 'No gardener in the Research Area has been willing to accept such risks and withstand such costs' (ibid:229).

What therefore had occurred between 1964 and 1974 to lead to such a rapid and substantial change in attitude and behaviour? The majority of my own informants from Village 9 expressed the opinion that tea picking is much easier than miang production since it only has to be picked, kept moist overnight, and then sold. Not only does this avoid the enormous amount of time and labour involved in the steaming process, but it also means an immediate cash return rather than the considerable delay involved in fermenting miang before it can be sold. Furthermore, although in the 1960s, tea prices were marginally lower than those of miang, the substantial

decline in miang prices occuring in the early 1970s has meant that by 1974 a day's picking of tea was worth almost four times as much as a day's picking of miang.

Despite the many obvious advantages of changing to tea, only a very small number of wealthy producers had picked tea for more than a year or two prior to my survey. The crucial factor in the sudden increase in interest in tea production was undoubtedly the recent fall in the price of miang. The major determinant of the price of miang is the price of rice. When the price of rice rises, the demand for miang, and hence its market price[1], falls. Thus the recent increases in rice prices had begun to take their toll. However, two other important factors had also contributed to the exceptionally low price of miang in 1973-74. In 1972 there had been an unusually abundant miang harvest, so many middlemen still had substantial supplies left unsold the following year. In 1973, when floods devastated the rice harvest in many parts of the Chiengmai Province causing severe hardship among the population (see Appendix 7), the demand for miang slumped and prices fell to a record low of 18฿ per 100 kam, well under half of the standard selling price of 50฿/100. Many miang producers found that their regular buyers were unwilling to accept any new stock, but even those who did manage to sell suffered severe losses. As Wijeyewardene pointed out in his review of Van Roy's book:

> '...it would appear to be straightforward economic behaviour to supply the (tea) factory when the demand for miang was down and abandon (it)...when the demand improved.' (1972:426)

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[1] Although its consumption is widespread in the Northern Region, miang is essentially a luxury, and if householders are having to pay more for their rice, they are less likely to have surplus cash to buy miang. With the rise in landlessness in the Region, and the increasing proportion of the population dependent upon wage labour, this problem has intensified in recent years.

In fact the demand for miang did not improve. In 1978 I learned that the price of miang had remained at a low 20฿ per 100 kam, while tea prices had increased from 3฿ to 5฿ a kilo. As one might expect, virtually all households in Village 9 were reported to have turned over almost entirely to tea production, picking only the older, tougher leaves as miang[1]. According to one of Ban Pong's mae liang, Phi Saeng In, further severe falls in miang sales between 1976 and 1978 had resulted in many landlords being obliged to free their tenants from rental obligations, while the pho liang traders were encouraging producers to sell their miang themselves, to avoid acute hardship in the hill communities. Many of the more accessible miang orchards had been sold to the Raming Tea Company, while buyers for more remote orchards could not be found even though prices of orchards had fallen to about one quarter of their value a decade earlier. Many families had been forced to return to the lowlands, abandoning their hopes of economic progress.

Phi Saeng In accounted for the relentless and disastrous reduction in the demand for miang by its lack of popularity among the young. Her impressions were supported by evidence, based on a survey conducted in Ban Pong in 1976 (see Mougne, MacLennan and Atsana, (1982). Analysis of miang consumption in Ban Pong indicated that only 7.5% of respondents under 30 used miang daily, as compared to 51% of those aged 30-49 and 80% of those aged 50 and over. Since most respondents reported that they had first used miang in their teens, the figures are unlikely to change significantly as the population ages. Thus in less than one hundred years since its development as a major local industry in this part of Northern Thailand, miang production would appear to have begun an irrevocable process of decline.

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[1] Informant was Thamom La'Ookit, son of Mae Mun (House No.106), who had married the youngest daughter of Nai Khampan Phromasen (Pang Klang, Village 9) in October 1973 and had moved to the hills to work in his father-in-law's orchards.

SUMMARY

The existence of rich reserves of wild tea in the hills to the north west of Ban Pong Valley has been of critical importance in the economic development of Ban Pong. Although villagers had made use of these reserves since the first years of settlement in the Valley, it was not until the first and second decades of this century, when a number of migrants moved to Ban Pong from more commercially advanced districts (notably Doi Saket) close to Chiengmai city, that exploitation of the miang forests developed into an important local industry. The rapid expansion of miang production and distribution, occurring at a time when many local smallholders were being forced to sell their land in the face of growing economic pressures, provided the new migrants with an avenue of mobility within the community. This period may therefore be seen as a transitional phase between a predominantly subsistence economy in Ban Pong and one which has been increasingly characterised by capitalist values. It has resulted in a growing polarisation of economic classes within the community, as more and more smallholders have been dispossessed, and the minority of entrepreneurs have been able to establish their elite position by accumulating very large holdings of irrigated land in the Valley.

The growth of the miang industry may also be seen as a population safety valve which has provided important seasonal employment for a significant (though declining) proportion of landpoor and landless peasants in the Valley. However, it is important to note that access to such employment has not been available equally to all members of the lowland community. In order to safeguard their monopoly of all aspects of the industry,

including ownership, production and trade, producers have been selective in their choice of wage labourers, drawing primarily on kinship and neighbourhood links in the Valley. This monopoly has been further strengthened by highly selective marriage patterns which have resulted in the majority of producing households in the hills, and owning/trading households in Ban Pong, being linked by very close kinship ties.

The nature of the relationship between the people of Ban Pong and those living in the hills requires some comment. While for many decades the hill settlements may be seen as having been an integral part of Ban Pong Village, a type of sattelite settlement, entirely dependent for survival on the lowland community, I would argue that in the case of Village 9 this relationship has changed substantially in recent years. The retirement of several major phǫ liang in Ban Pong, and the sale of their orchards in Village 9 to local producers in the mid-1960s, together with the increasingly favourable market for tea, have enabled many households in this upland community to break away from the restrictions of the traditional relationship with owner/traders in the Valley. This new-found independence manifests itself not only in the producers' greater flexibility in patterns of production and trading, but also in their long-term aspirations. The desire to return eventually to Ban Pong, as the owner of irrigated rice fields in the Valley, which has long been the ambition of the majority of miang producers in the hills (and remains so in the case of most producers in Village 12), was mentioned by few of the more successful producers in Village 9. In most cases they argued that there was little to be gained by moving to Ban Pong as they were not rice farmers, and they hoped instead to move eventually to Chiengmai city where they would work as traders.

This brings me to a further point which requires elaboration here; the nature of the movement of individuals from the lowlands to pa miang. If the upland communities are seen as an integral part of Ban Pong Village, it could be argued that movement between them does not constitute migration, if Bogue's definition (see Chapter 4, p.205) is accepted. However, although movement from the Valley to the hills does not involve a change in significant social and economic ties, I would argue that the substantial change in environment, and perhaps more importantly, the complete change in economic activity and orientation which such moves entail, are sufficient criteria to justify the use of the term[1].

If it is accepted that we are dealing with a predominantly migrant community, it remains to determine the nature of the migrants involved. One important feature is the former migratory history of many of those who pioneered the commercial exploitation of the wild tea forests. As Taylor has noted in his study of migrants from the Durham coalfields (1969:110), early migrants to pa miang were less indigenous to Ban Pong than non-migrants. Drawing further on Taylor's analysis, such early pioneering migrants to pa miang share many of the characteristics typifying his category of 'aspiring' migrants, while those who moved subsequently, the majority of whom had close kinship ties with members of the pioneering group, may be described as 'resultant' or chain migrants (ibid:120-122).

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[1] Not all present-day residents of pa miang are migrants; as we have seen, many of them, particularly in Village 9, had been born in the hills. Nor of course would seasonal labourers from the Valley, who spend perhaps three months of the year in the hills, be so classified. Nevertheless, the large majority of the population in the uplands, until comparatively recently, were migrants.

The analysis of changing patterns of exploitation of pa miang presented in this chapter has important implications for the study of Northern Thai social structure. While the technology of miang production seems likely to have been adopted by the khon mu'ang lowlanders, from hill tribes such as the Khmu, many of the structures involved, such as the control of labour for production, and the marketing of the product, have been adapted from indigenous lowland structures. Thus, for example, the system of maintaining a small domestic labour force in the hills and the hiring of seasonal labourers who are kin, or neighbours of kin in the Valley, is in some ways functionally similar to the traditional system of reciprocal labour which developed in the lowlands to cope with labour shortages at peak periods of the agricultural cycle. The selection of labourers with particular ties with the upland producers may be seen as fulfilling important social, as well as economic functions. Furthermore, as Van Roy has noted, the relationship between phǫ liang in the Valley, and the producers in the hills, reflects the traditional pattern of patron-client relationships in the lowlands.

However, whilst this analysis of pa miang has illustrated the way in which particular structural features of lowland society have been adapted by the hill dwellers in order to create a viable economic system in the hills, it has also shown how quickly such structures have been modified or dispensed with in the face of changing conditions. In the following Chapter I return to Ban Pong, to examine the way in which economic and demographic changes occurring in the community during recent decades (described in earlier chapters) have influenced other important traditional elements of Northern Thai social structure.

CHAPTER 9

MARRIAGE, RESIDENCE AND DOMESTIC SPIRIT CULTS: THE IMPACT OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHANGE ON NORTHERN THAI SOCIAL STRUCTURE

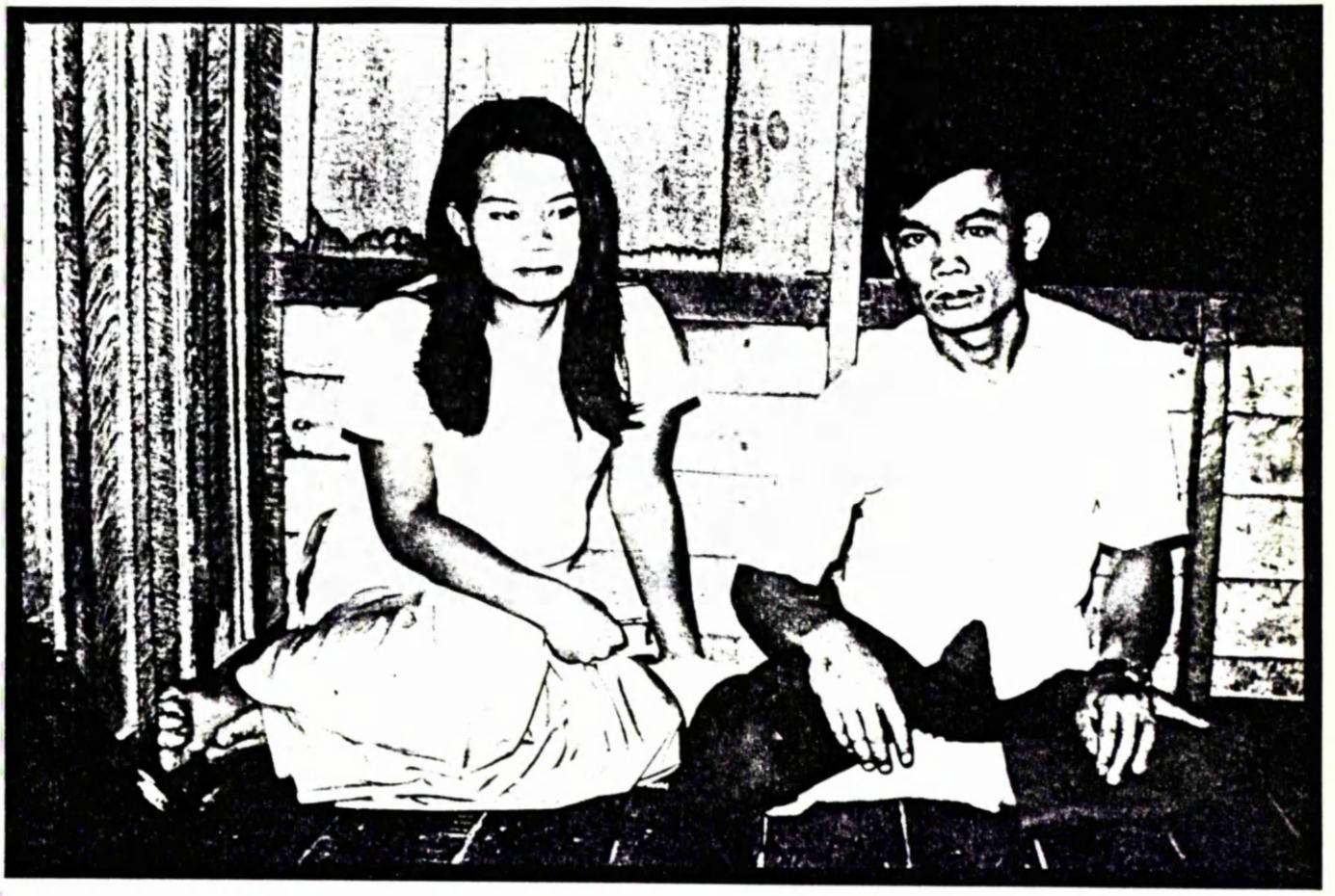

PLATE 9: Marriage. Nai Sriwai and Nang Srinuan Thuli prepare to welcome their guests for the wedding feast (March 1973)

Introduction

:ent literature on the khon mu'ang of Northern Thailand has emphasised traditional focus on matrilocality, with preferential uxorilocal marriage nd residence patterns, based on an ideology of 'spirit-spacing'[1], and ;iven supernatural sanction by female-centred domestic spirit cults (see Turton, 1972; Davis, 1973; Cohen, n.d.; Potter, 1976 and Delaney, 1977). However, the considerable variations found by researchers working in different parts of the Northern Region[2] have given rise to a debate on the specific nature of Northern Thai social structure. In this chapter, the data for Ban Pong will be examined in the light of this debate, to see the extent to which demographic factors, such as the high proportion of migrants in the community during the first half century of its settlement, and its more recent rapid growth of population, and economic factors, such as the increasing maldistribution of land resources, and growing landlessness, have influenced these basic features of social structure.

It will be argued that marriage and residence patterns in Ban Pong, and their closely associated spirit cults, have gone through various stages of adaptation in the face of these changing demographic and economic conditions. On the basis of this argument, it will be suggested that the variations in the nature of these institutions found in different parts of

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[1] This term has been used by Delaney to describe the 'underlying principal of the Northern Thai residential system' (1977:69). The principal, in Davis' words, is based on a belief that:

> 'Every woman possesses a certain mystic essence...which derives from her clan spirit. When two women of different clans reside in the same house, this is a potentially dangerous situation in which two different spiritual essences are thrown into conflict. The spirits associated with different clans are thought to be incompatible and jealous of one another. This is the reason the Muang give for avoiding virilocal residence.' (1974:73)

See p.418 below for further discussion of this point regarding the selection of marriage partners.

[2] Turton's data are for Chiengrai Province, Davis' for Nan Province, while Cohen, Delaney and Potter each worked in different Districts of Chiengmai.

the North, may be attributed to a large extent to differential patterns of demographic and economic evolution. Although this essentially functionalist interpretation cannot be proven in the absence of adequate historical data for the other communities studied, examination of the literature provides a number of clues which will be presented in support of it.

In the first part of this chapter I will concentrate on marriage and residence patterns, examining the critical elements involved in the legitimation of marriage and the selection of spouses, and discussing patterns of village exogamy and post-marital residence, as they have changed over the years. The Ban Pong data will be compared with those presented by other Northern Thai ethnographers.

In the second part of the chapter, I turn to a discussion of the female-centred domestic spirit cults found in Ban Pong, and examine the way in which the level of participation in such cults by women in the village has been influenced by demographic and economic factors. Throughout this section I will relate the Ban Pong data to those given in the literature on other communities in Northern Thailand and will present an alternative interpretation of the cults based on the relationship between them and the control of labour. I will argue firstly that rather than the cults being interpreted in terms of an ideology of unilineal descent, they are more appropriately seen in relation to an ideology of locality[1], that is, of the dominant post-marital residence pattern. Secondly I will argue that it is the ideology of locality, existing side by side with an ideology of

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[1] This interpretation was first suggested by Thake (1979:49).

bilateral inheritance upon which it has exerted a continuing matrilateral bias, that has led some anthropologists to the erroneous interpretation that 'matrilineages' are a major structural feature of Northern Thai society. This same matrilateral bias in inheritance patterns has led one writer to the conclusion that allocation of land resources has been a major function of the cults (Hale, 1979). I will argue instead that it is more likely to be the control of labour with which they are concerned, a formulation which is more acceptable given the fact that until the middle of this century it was labour rather than land which was the scarce resource in Northern Thailand. Thus I will argue that the major causal factor in the decline in importance of the cults in recent years has been the reversal of the traditional balance between human and land resources. Again I will turn to evidence from Ban Pong and from the literature which prove conclusively that not only have post-marital residence patterns and the spirit cults readily adapted to suit economic exigencies, but that there is also strong evidence in the Ban Pong data of variability in the operation of the cults as a result of demographic factors. In conclusion I will suggest that the significant variations found in the literature on these central features of Northern Thai social structure may be attributed to the specific demographic and economic histories of each community.

9.1 The Legitimation of Marriage

The process of courtship in Northern Thailand was once a highly colourful business, with groups of young unmarried men (bao) roaming the countryside engaging young girls (sao) in the exchange of stylised but often provocative and witty verses (see Appendix 8), while individuals in the groups singled out their desired partners. Although group courtship has now died out in many parts of the Region, other traditional features leading to the legitimation of marriage have remained. Once a young couple has reached the stage of admitting their love for one another, a young man's wish to marry a girl is still couched in terms of the question, "phi kin anyang?" (lit. 'What do your spirits eat?' See below, p.445). According to tradition, any physical contact between an unmarried couple, even the mere touching of hands, is said to phit phi ('to offend the spirits')[1]. If such a sexual trespass has occurred, the girl is required to inform her mother, so that the necessary offerings can be made to appease the spirits - the phipunya, or ancestor spirits. According to Potter, if the girl is too shy or unwilling to tell her mother, the spirits, in their anger, will cause the mother or other close kin to fall ill (1976:106). Young girls in Ban Pong nowadays however, are less perturbed by the fear of super-natural retribution for their misconduct, and often argue that as long as their mothers do not know, then neither will the spirits.

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[1] Despite the apparently stringent rule against pre-marital sexual activity, it appears that many couples, in the past as well as nowadays, engage in sexual intercourse before marriage (see also Turton, 1972:222). In former times such activities were generally conducted in remote parts of the rice fields or in the forest, but nowadays couples prefer the privacy offered by the many cheap hotels found in Chiengmai city, just an hour and a half away by bus. It is only when a girl becomes pregnant that she can no longer hide her activities, and marriage is then hurriedly arranged.

After a period of courtship, once the couple has agreed to marry, the parents, or elder kin of the young man, visit the parents of the girl to su khǫ[1] (i.e. to ask for the girl's hand in marriage). If both parties agree, the wedding date is arranged, often within a few days, or at the most a month later[2]. The young man is then required to make a payment to the bride's parents, so that an offering can be made to her spirits, to inform them of the marriage, and, in cases where premarital sexual misconduct has occurred, to appease their anger[3]. This payment, known as kha sia phi aɔ[4], is used to purchase food which is offered to the ancestor spirits when they are informed of the proposed marriage.

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[1] For a detailed account of this process see Turton (1976:276-277).

[2] If possible, marriages take place in du'an khu (i.e. even months according to the Northern Thai calendar, such as the second month, November; the fourth month, January; or the sixth month, March), to ensure that the couple will stay together for many years (khu can mean either 'even' or 'couple'). Sometimes the exact wedding date is decided upon by consulting a priest or mǫ du (fortune teller), so that an auspicious day may be chosen. Young couples commonly consult the mǫ du prior to marriage to ensure their compatability according to the dao (stars). Apart from 'odd' months, and certain days of each month, the most inauspicious time of the year for marriage is during Buddhist Lent.

[3] In cases where sexual misconduct has occurred, but the young man refuses to marry the girl, an offering must still be made, in this case known as kha sia phi bǫ ao. Often this involves a payment equivalent to double that required for marriage, to compensate for the girl's loss of face, and the presumably greater displeasure of the spirits. If the girl also happens to be pregnant, her parents will attempt to find an alternative suitor for her, or have the pregnancy aborted (see Chapter 5, p.214).

[4] Delaney has suggested the concept of 'separation' as a translation for sia here and writes:

> 'My understanding of Northern Thai meansings here is that the cyclical reincarnation of a deceased kinsman is to be initiated by means of male entry, pregnancy and parturition.' (1977:43)

In cases where the bride's family no longer thu' phipunya (respect their ancestor spirits), there is an alternative payment generally referred to as kha namnon (price of the mother's milk), or kha namcai (price of goodwill)[1], which is said to represent a symbolic payment to the parents for raising the bride. Before the Second World War the usual marriage payment was made in thaep (rupees), usually 3, 6 or 12, but nowadays it ranges from a minimum of 50 baht to 200 or 300[2]. In many cases, particularly the poorer families, payment of the marriage-fee is the only element involved in the legitimation of a marriage, prior to the cohabitation of the couple, which commences on the wedding day itself.

However, according to the economic status of the two families, the wedding may include a variety of optional festivities. If the families can afford it, there may be a kin liang or kin khaek feast on the evening of the wedding day, to which relatives and friends are invited to eat and drink, generally in the home of the bride's parents[3]. Sometimes this will include a phithi mat mu' (a hand-tying ceremony)[4] in which the couple kneels down, side by side, and first the groom's parents, then the bride's and older kin from both families tie the wrists of the bride and groom together, whilst giving a blessing for a long, happy and fertile marriage.

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[1] Turton (1976:280) calls this 'the price of the purpose',(in Chiengrai Province),supplementary payment made in addition to the sia phi payment, but my informants in Ban Pong said that they were made under different circumstances and were mutually exclusive. Interestingly Haas (1964:270) gives the Central Thai translation for namcai as 'feelings' or 'good-will', while McFarland (1944:453) gives 'will' or 'purpose'.

[2] In addition to this, if the young man has money of his own he might give his bride a gold necklace or even a ring, but such gifts are rare.

[3] In some cases the groom's arrival at the bride's home is accompanied by loud and bawdy singing of his friends who then bargain with the young men of the bride's family, usually for the number of bottles of alcohol to be payed in order to gain admission to the bride's home. See Potter (1976:116). Turton (1976:281) gives a full description of kin liang.

[4] This joint blessing is a variation of pluk mu' (to tie the wrist with sacred thread) which is a feature of many Thai rituals both Buddhist and animist; it is done to ensure that a person's khwan (soul essence) is not lost at critical times such as when travelling or during sickness.

Often a silver bowl is placed before the kneeling couple so that guests can present envelopes containing money gifts to them, when making their blessing. Once the phithi mat mu' is finished, the couple is led into the bedroom, preferably by someone with an auspicious name such as Di (good), Thǫng (gold), or Suk (happiness). Once inside the bedroom the couple kneels for a final blessing before the threads binding them are cut. The latter part of the proceedings is generally accompanied by loud and bawdy remarks and singing from the groom's peers, who crowd around the bedroom doorway giving their support. After this, food and alcoholic drinks are shared by the assembled kinsmen and friends. Marriages of members of wealthy families differ only on scale. Nowadays it is considered especially prestigious to provide printed invitation cards, and a large number of important villagers, outside the normal circle of family and friends, may be invited to participate in the festivities, to give their blessing and present costly gifts to the newly-weds.

Buddhism has little part to play in the celebration of marriage, though in some cases the couple may make offerings at the temple on the morning after their wedding, in order to tham bun (make merit). Official registration of marriage is rare in Ban Pong, although it was introduced to the District before the Second World War. It is generally limited to couples working as civil servants, or those from wealthy land-owning families[1].

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[1] See also Turton (1976:283).

When the wedding day is over, one final ritual is performed in cases where both bride and groom come from families who thu' phipunya. This is known as khwai phi ('to criss-cross' or 'exchange' the spirits), and involves the preparation, by the bride's family, of two sets of offerings, including two chickens, and two each of areca nut,betel leaf, lime, miang and cigarettes. The two sets of offerings are then taken to the home of the groom's parents where they are divided equally. The groom's mother, or her kao phi (elder kinswoman whose responsibility it is to make offerings to the spirits, see p.444 below) then presents the cooked chicken together with the other offerings, to their phipunya, to let them know that the family now has a new member, and that the two families are now yat kan (kindred). The bride's mother meanwhile takes her share of the offerings back home and for a second time she, or her kao phi, makes a presentation to the spirits to tell them what has occurred[1].

9.2 The Selection of Spouses

As with most decisions made by the Northern Thai villager, the choice of a marriage partner is, to a large extent, made on the basis of practical, rather than sentimental, considerations. Although, as in most societies, attractive looks and an appealing personality are desirable qualities, marriage partners are chosen first and foremost for their reputation as a hard and reliable worker[2].

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[1] For further discussion of khwai phi, see p. 459-460, and Davis (1974:67).

[2] For example, one young girl, a member of one of the wealthier land-owning households in the Village, was said to have little hope of finding a husband because her leg, crippled by childhood polio, prevented her from performing the many physical tasks required of a farmer's wife.

Unlike the Central Thai, the Northerners place little importance on a young man's having been ordained as a Buddhist novice or monk prior to marriage[1]. A more critical factor, at least in former times, in making a man a desirable marriage partner, was his having been tattooed, a sign of courage and maturity. Until about forty years ago, the majority of village men had the 'short trouser' tattoo, typical of the Lao Phung Dam[2]. This was a dense, deep blue tattoo which covered the entire area from waist to thigh. The application of such tattoos was said to have been a long and painful process, but they were considered to be extremely beautiful by men and women alike. In the past, a young man, recently tattooed, would proudly tuck his pha khama (loin cloth) as high as possible above his thighs in order to display as much as possible of the decorated area. In some cases the tattoos were extended down the entire leg to the ankle, a process involving even more acute pain for the man, but proving absolutely irresistable to the young women. The appeal of such tattoos is clearly portrayed in a verse repeated to me by an elderly Ban Pong woman:

nam mu'k kha yao ao paeng hao pha ɸm
nam mu'k kha kɸm ao wai pɸng sali
nam mu'k ba mi ao wai suai hi mu'a cao

'If your leg is tattooed to the ankle,
I'll use it to make a border for my blanket.
If your leg is tattooed to the thigh,
I'll use it to guard my mattress.
If your leg is not tattooed at all,
I'll use it to wash out my vagina in the morning!'[3]

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[1] The data indicate a decline in the proportion of men in the village who had been ordained as monks in recent years. Over 8% of men aged 65 and over were former monks; 6.9% of those aged between 45 and 64, and only 3.1% of those under 45. This would seem to be extremely low, even for the Northern Region; eg. in Turton's study population a little over 8% of men in all age groups over 20 were former monks (1976:324). The tendency for ordination to occur more frequently among higher socio-economic groups, noted by Turton, is also apparent in Ban Pong and this is clearly a factor in the dominance of political affairs by men of such groups (eg. see Cases 3,4 and 5, Chap. 7

[2] 'Traditionally the Yuan (or Lao) of Northern Siam have been distinguished from the Lao of north-eastern Siam by the fact that the former (Lao Phung Dam) tattooed on the stomach, whereas the latter (Lao Phung Khao) did not.' LeBar et al (1964:214). See also Davis (1974:221)

[3] See Irvine (n.d.) on the polluting nature of female genitals, and Turton (1976:266) on the importance of male tattooing for courtship.

In the past thirty or forty years this form of tattooing has completely died out in Ban Pong, and young men say that it is far too painful to have done[1]. Nowadays many young men have elaborate tattoos on their chests or limbs, but these are ostensibly of magical rather than cosmetic value.

Potter, as mentioned earlier, writes that virginity is an important element in marriageability of a young girl (1976:106), but there is no evidence of this in Ban Pong[2]. Nowadays a considerable number of unmarried village girls, in the face of economic necessity, have found their way to the massage parlours and brothels of Chiengmai and Bangkok (see Chapter 4, p.193, footnote 1). According to my informants, the fact that a girl is known to have worked as a prostitute would not necessarily preclude her from finding a husband in the village. However, they said, such girls would rarely be interested in marrying a village boy because 'khoei sabai' (i.e. 'they have known the easy life'), and would not be prepared to engage in the arduous duties of a farmer's wife. Although the fact that a particular girl has left the village to khai tua (lit. 'to sell her body'), is usually discussed rather reluctantly, sexuality does not appear to invoke conflict or anxiety among the Northern Thais as it so often does in our own society. It is seen as a necessary component of life which can quite readily be converted into a marketable commodity without causing serious moral conflict.

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[1] In the past men having such tattoos were said to have often required opium to withstand the pain, and some had died from overdose or infection.

[2] Turton also noted: 'There is no premium on virginity at marriage.' (1976:268). During my fieldwork I heard of only one case where the sexual behaviour of an unmarried village girl was publically condemned. The girl had been staying at her parent's fieldhouse to watch over their rice fields just prior to harvesting. Within a few days everyone in the village was excitedly discussing the news that she had been entertaining at least three village men during her nightly vigil. Without delay her parents took the girl back home to prevent her from bringing further shame to the family.

Returning to the question of choice of marriage partners, there were two commonly expressed rules for the selection or exclusion[1] of potential mates in Ban Pong. A spouse should not be someone who is phi diao kan (lit. 'of the same spirit', i.e. close matrilateral kin, see below), but should be lun diao kan ('of the same age group', i.e. within the same twelve year animal cycle. See Appendix 1). The latter rule is particularly critical in the case of a woman being older than her lover, since if she is more than twelve years his senior, she will be lun phi (i.e. 'older sibling age group') to her husband, which would not be considered appropriate[2].

Turton, on the basis of fieldwork in Chiengrai Province, has stated that the obverse of the proscriptive rule against marriage between a man and any woman who might be categorized as his phi (elder sibling)[3], is a preferential rule in favour of marriage with a daughter or granddaughter of a man's parents' or grandparents' younger sibling, although he admits that such marriages are 'not statistically very frequent', nor is there any 'preference for matrilineal cousins which would consolidate the matrilineage' (1972:231 and 238). In fact the concept of such a marriage would be directly opposed to the prevailing rule in Ban Pong, mentioned above, which forbids marriage between close matrilateral kin. The reason for this proscription was explained to me by the locally born phuyaiban (headman) of Ban Hang Dong:

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[1] See Turton (1976:258-262) for a discussion of khu't (taboo) marriages.

[2] There were four couples married at the time of my 1973 survey involving a woman married to a man more than 12 years her junior. Such marriages were recognised as being unusual, and were mostly excused by villagers by saying that one or both partners involved mai tem baht (lit. 'not a full baht', i.e. a bit crazy). In all 4 cases the woman had been married at least once before.

[3] See also Davis (1974:60).

> 'In the North there are no marriages between luk phi luk nǫng (i.e. cousins). It is not possible. If you are of the same wong trakun (lineage), it means that you cannot marry. If you are from different lineages there is no problem. People of the same line cannot come together to expand the lineage[1], especially not here in the North. It is said phi punya diao kan pen phi an diao kan (people with the same ancestral spirit are of the same spirit). In some areas there are such marriages, but around here it is considered wrong. It offends the spirits (phit phi). It is taboo (man khu'd). People here say it is wrong, cousins should never marry.'

In fact, of 881 ever-married men and women interviewed in Ban Pong in 1973, only 24 (2.7%) had been married to a cousin[2], and in all cases these were patrilateral cousins. Of the 16 marriages represented by these individuals, 7 were between young men and women, all born in Ban Pong of tenant or labouring households, and in 4 of these cases they were the second (or subsequent) marriage of one or both spouse. As such I would suggest that these marriages are more the result of statistical inevitability in a population the size of Ban Pong, rather than a particular preferential strategy. The remaining 9 marriages, however, do have features suggestive of such a strategy. In all but one of these cases, the marriages had occurred before the Second World War. In all cases, one or both spouses were migrants from Doi Saket or San Pa Tǫng Districts, or from Lamphun Province. The fact that these are all centres of settlement of Yǫng people (see Chapter 4, p.177, footnote 1, and p.431 below) might indicate that there has been a stronger tradition for such preferential marriages among certain groups of khon mu'ang. However, of particular interest was that in five cases of these statistically very infrequent marriages, the couple had been actively involved in the miang trade in the past (see Chapter 8), and four of them are among the minority of

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[1] 'Thi man su'p su'a chu'a sai yai chu'a kan bǫ dai.' The word chu'a, meaning seed or particle (eg. chu'a rok meaning germ of a disease, or nam chu'a meaning semen) here refers to the essence of kinship (sai = issue, lineage, descendents) which has a connotation of fertility. As with germs or semen, this essence is potentially multipliable, but lies dormant until activated. It would appear therefore that the essence cannot be activated (or may be dangerous) if mixed with another constituent of the same essence. (I am grateful to Walter Irvine for his advice ǫn this interpretation). See also p.407, above, footnote 1.

[2] A further 27 men and women reported marriages with more distant kin.

wealthy landowners in Ban Pong today[1]. In these cases it would certainly appear that the choice of marriage partners was also part of an economic strategy[2]. The two most striking cases were Phǫ Nan Srithǫn and his younger sister Mae Ui Sai, both of whom had married into the family of their father's cousin, who were fellow migrants from Doi Saket (see Figure 14, p.310). Their marriages cemented the growing power and wealth of the two families, while some of their siblings married into established land-owning families in the village. The pattern has continued into the next generation with grandchildren of Phǫ Ui Mu'n and Phǫ Ui Wang marrying members of other wealthy land-owning families, so that in 1973, five of the ten wealthiest households in Ban Pong included direct descendents of the two old men.

9.3 Post-marital Residence Patterns

The model for marriage and residence patterns in Northern Thai village society, as presented by writers such as Davis, Turton and Potter, is one in which a man marries into the village or home of his bride, spending a minimum of one year in her parents' home, working their land with his father-in-law, and then, usually after the birth of the first child (or at the marriage of the next sister), setting up home within the wife's

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[1] These are Phǫ Nan Srithǫn Sumda'im (Chapter 7, Case 3), Mae Ui Sai Chaimongkhon (Chapter 7, Case 4), Phǫ Nǫi Oo Phromathet (Appendix 6, Case 20) and Mae Ui Thaa Phromasen (Chapter 8, Case 19).

[2] The selection of marriage partners as part of an economic strategy was also evident among residents in pa miang (see Chapter 8, pp.386-387). Turton makes the following observations regarding the selection of marriage partners as part of an economic strategy:

> 'As cash, land and capital equipment become more important than labour; as new forms of education and social status become available to some, new forms which themselves require cash for their acquisition and maintenance; so strategies to acquire, increase and consolidate these goods through marriage are employed. To the extent that such strategies are used, so the new social classes and sectors acquire an important means of reproducing themselves as classes.' (1976:263, my emphasis)

parents' compound, or nearby. As each daughter marries, a new nuclear household is set up close to the parental home, and the parental land is worked jointly, or on the basis of separate tenancy agreements with each daughter's household. On the death of the parents, the last married daughter, usually the youngest, who has remained in the parental home, inherits the house and compound. When the last surviving parent has died, the land is then generally divided equally between all sons and daughters, but since, in theory at least, most sons will have married into other villages, the effective heirs are more likely to be daughters who have remained close to the parental home.

The importance of post-marital uxorilocal residence, particularly when it involves a young man marrying in from another village, is, as Davis has noted, '...echoed by prescriptions concerning post-partum confinement' (1974:63). The period of seclusion following delivery (see Chapter 5, p.212, and Mougne, 1978) is ideally shorter for sons than for daughters[1]. In the case of a son, the shorter period is required to ensure yut khom hǫk khom dap (lit. 'to stop the blades of spears and daggers', i.e. to make him invulnerable), so that he will be able to travel far and wide without fear, in his search for a bride. The longer period of seclusion required after the birth of a daughter, is said to be phu'a ki phu'a fai (lit. 'to be able to use the loom and spin thread', i.e. to make her a good house-keeper), so that she will stay close to her home, and bring a son-in-law into the family.

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[1] Preferably 1-3 days short of a month for a son, and 1-3 days longer than a month for a daughter. Analysis of the data for Ban Pong indicate a consistent decline in adherence to this practice in recent years. Nowadays the majority of women yu kam for 30 days, regardless of the sex of the baby.

Despite the general consensus in the literature, on the ideal pattern of post-marital residence in Northern Thailand, there has been some disagreement over the importance of village exogamy[1], though most writers agree that where marriages are exogamous, there is a greater tendency for males than females to marry outside their natal village. Turton (1972), on the basis of his data for a village in Chiengrai Province, has proposed that while village exogamy was almost certainly the dominant pattern in the past, and has remained statistically prevalent to the present time[2], its incidence has declined in recent years. He equates this change with the growth in size of villages and their increasing proximity to each other.

Kingshill, however, in his analysis of marriages in Ku Daeng in 1953, found that in 66% of cases both spouses had been born in the village. Nevertheless, in marriages which were exogamous, three times as many males as females had married into the village (1965:48). Potter's data for Ku Daeng almost twenty years later (1976) indicate that although the proportion of marriages in which both spouses had been born in the village had fallen to below 50%, in exogamous marriages the ratio of men to women marrying in had also fallen (to 3:2). Although he does not give a figure for the proportion of exogamous marriages in South Village, Wijeyewardene (1967) notes that in only 32% of cases had both spouses been born in the village. However, he further notes that there were a number of other marriages in which although one or both spouses had been born outside the village, both were resident there prior to marriage.

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[1] Throughout this section I use the terms 'exogamy' and 'exogamous marriage' to refer specifically to marriages involving the movement by one spouse, out of his/her natal village, into the village of the other spouse at the time of marriage. Thus the village is the only unit under consideration in this context. Although in recent years the increased density of population has often tended to obscure the boundaries between adjacent villages, identification by individuals with their natal village remains strong.

[2] Although Turton does not state the reasons for individuals moving into the village, the majority had in fact moved to marry (Turton, personal communication).

Thus we have evidence of two different patterns which have changed over time; in Ku Daeng, a comparatively low incidence of village exogamy has given way to an increase and now marginal dominance of exogamous marriages, while in Chiengrai, there is evidence of dominant but declining exogamy. The data for South Village, although not permitting diachronic analysis, nevertheless point to an important way in which migration can influence marriage patterns in a community (see Section 9.4 below).

As we saw in Chapter 4 (Figure 9), the data for Ban Pong indicate that until relatively recently, the population has, to a large extent, been made up of migrants from diverse sources. Well over 70% of men and women aged 65 and over had been born outside the village, most of them coming from other districts in Chiengmai Province, or from other Northern Provinces, notably Lamphun. The majority of migrants from these sources had come with their families, either as children themselves, or as parents with young children. In fact, of the 358 ever-married individuals who had been born outside Ban Pong, only 92 had moved there to marry. In other words, only about 20% of marriages analysed were exogamous. This estimate is borne out by analysis of 256 extant first marriages, 19% of which involved a man or woman moving into the village to marry (Table 59).

Table 59

Marriage and Place of Birth: Extant First Marriages, Ban Pong, 1973

Place of Birth of Partners	No. of Marriages	%
Both born in Ban Pong	118	46.1
Male only born elsewhere	59	23.0
Male moving to marry	22	8.6
Female only born elsewhere	45	17.6
Female moving to marry	24	9.4
Both partners born elsewhere	34	13.3
Male moving to marry	0	0
Female moving to marry	3	1.2
Total	256	100.0

Although overall more males than females had been born outside Ban Pong[1], the number of men moving to the Village to marry was in fact slightly smaller. Analysis of these data by current age indicate no significant proportional differences between men and women marrying-in over time, though it would appear that for both sexes, the number marrying-in in recent years has declined in proportion to the total village population. Prior to the 1940s, however, individuals moving to Ban Pong to marry accounted for a very small proportion of all migrants moving into the Village at that time, whereas by the mid-1950s to mid-1960s, they represented over 50% of new migrants (see Chapter 4, Table 32, p.179). About half of the in-marrying men and women had come from other villages in, or near to Ban Pong Valley, while the remainder came mostly from other districts in Chiengmai Province (notably Saraphi and Doi Saket), or from other Northern Provinces (notably Lamphun). This reflects the tendency, noted earlier (Chapter 4, p.175), for members of certain migrant groups to 'import' spouses from their village or district of origin.

[1] The difference was very much smaller than that noted by Turton (1972: 231, footnote 13).

Marriages which had involved a man or woman leaving Ban Pong were not studied systematically. However, it was possible to gain some insight by analysis of data on the current place of residence of children of ever-married women (under age 60) in the Village, since this information was included in the fertility history questionnaire (see Chapter 4, p.183). These data show that while the overall sex ratio of living children was more or less equal, the sex ratio of those who had left the Village was extremely low (45) indicating a much higher rate of out-migration of young women. Although the reason for leaving the Village was not recorded in these cases, it is reasonable to assume that the proportion of males marrying out of the Village was lower than for females. Overall, however, the proportion of marriages involving a man or woman leaving Ban Pong would appear to have been as small in recent years as for those involving a man or woman marrying-in.

It would appear therefore that marriage patterns in Ban Pong differ from those described above, with a much lower rate of exogamy in the past which has declined still further in recent years. I would suggest that this apparently atypical pattern has been the result of two important demographic factors. In the older age groups, the low incidence of exogamy can be accounted for by the fact that on the one hand many couples were already married before moving to Ban Pong, and on the other hand, the high proportion of migrants in the community coming from a variety of sources, provided a much wider range of potential spouses from within the Village than in more long-established communities. More recently, the substantial growth of population in Ban Pong has also meant that the range of choice of suitable spouses has been very much greater than in smaller communities.

The second major feature of traditional marriage patterns in Northern Thailand which is, to some extent, related to the practice of village exogamy, is, as noted earlier, initial uxorilocal residence[1] following marriage. Again the literature provides evidence of wide variations in adherence to this ideal pattern in different communities in Northern Thailand. Kingshill, whilst claiming that '...there were no rules governing the type of marriage or the residence...' in Ku Daeng (1965:48), observed nevertheless '...a definite tendency toward matrilocal residence' (ibid:47). The picture of Ku Daeng presented twenty years later by Potter is somewhat different:

> 'After marriage, Chiangmai village[2] couples go to live in the bride's house. If the bride is the youngest daughter, who will inherit the parental house, the couple will reside there permanently; if not, they usually live a year or two with the bride's parents and then reside permanently nearby, often in the same courtyard. This is the universally expressed ideal and it is observed in almost all marriages.' (1976:118. My emphasis)

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[1] Here I am using the term to refer to the residence, by a man, in the home of his wife or her parents, regardless of whether or not they were born in different villages. With regards to present-day patterns of post-marital residence in other parts of Thailand, Keyes has made the following comments:

> 'Only among the Central Thai does there appear to be no pattern of initial matrilocal residence following marriage. However, the Central Thai pattern whereby a newly married couple may just as likely be found living with the parents of the husband as with the parents of the wife is apparently of recent vintage.' (1977:133)

Rajadhon, in his 'Story of Thai Marriage Custom', writes:

> 'The Thai marriage custom in the earlier days...was for the young man to leave the home of his parents, that is, to marry-out of his own home and into his wife's home. Traces of such a custom may be found in old Thai law relating to man and also in literature...People would not allow their daughters to marry-out, that is make their home with their husband's family for it is considered a "loss of face" to a decent family for daughters to do so. The custom is now diminishing in pace with the progress of time.' (1968:257)

Keyes suggests that:

> 'This change is...a consequence of the readjustments made in Central Thai rural society following the commercialization of agriculture.' (1977:133, footnote).

[2] Potter uses this as a pseudonym for Ku Daeng.

Of the 294 marriages studied by Potter, 73% were initially uxorilocal, but surprisingly the rate was higher (87.1%) for marriages in which both spouses had been born in Ku Daeng, than in those where one or other spouse had married into the village (61.0%). The latter figure is interesting in that it shows a considerable decline in uxorilocal residence for exogamous marriages, from Kingshill's estimate of 75% for such marriages in 1953 (1965:48). This change reflects the decline in the sex ratio of in-marrying individuals noted by the two writers (see p. 421).

Wijeyewardene found that 60.7% of marriages studied in South Village were '<u>currently</u> uxorilocal', which he defined as 'movement by the husband to the home, parents' home, or village of his wife' (1967:69. My emphasis). He does not however provide quantitative data on the incidence of <u>initial</u> post-marital uxorilocal residence, nor does he differentiate between residence patterns according to whether or not the marriages had been exogamous. Davis, on the basis of his fieldwork in Nan Province, claims that '...a mandatory initial period of matrilocal residence (is) one of the main features of Northern Thai social structure', though he concedes (in deference to Wijeyewardene's findings), that 'in less tradition-minded parts of Northern Thailand the practice may be waning.' (1973:53)

Interestingly though, the data presented by Davis in support of his claim for high levels of uxorilocality in Ban Thaa Village, appear to be inconsistent. In order to throw light on 'the dynamics of residence as a developmental cycle', he examines changes in residence of seventeen couples married fifteen years or more (ibid:54). All seventeen couples had resided uxorilocally on the wedding night, and for at least six months after marriage (i.e. in the home of the bride or in that of her

parents). Even after fifteen years, fourteen of the couples (82%) were still residing uxorilocally. However, a separate analysis of forty-one currently married couples in the village (presumably some of them married for less than fifteen years), showed that only fifteen couples (36%) were residing uxorilocally at the time of his survey; fourteen (34%) were living on land bought or cleared by the couple themselves (i.e. neolocally), a further eleven (27%) were residing on land currently or formerly belonging to the parents of the husband (i.e. virilocally), and one couple was living on land belonging to the husband's deceased first wife (ibid). The fact that one sample population gives a figure of 82% for current uxorilocal residence, and the other only 36%, indicates the extent to which data based on non-randomly sampled populations can lead to erroneous conclusions.

Turton (1972:221) found that about 80% of 160 marriages studied (in Chiengrai Province) had been in uxorilocal residence for at least the first three months following marriage, and that the remaining cases of initially virilocal or neolocal residence had occurred only where the wife's parents were already dead by the time of her marriage.

We are thus presented yet again with a somewhat confusing picture of initial post-marital residence patterns in the literature, ranging from what amounts to vague tendencies to uxorilocality, to a mandatory rule. The two studies of Ku Daeng suggest that rather than the differences observed being the result of errors in the data, or in their interpretation, by one or other writer, changes in residence patterns have occurred during the two decades between the studies. In view of the fact that a number of writers have suggested that the virtual disappearance

of initial uxorilocality in Central Thailand has been the result of economic changes (see p.425, above, footnote 1 , and Kemp, 1970), it may be that the wide variation of patterns observed in different areas of the North is a result of adaptive modifications made over time within each community. The data for Ban Pong have been analysed in order to test this hypothesis (Table 60).

Table 60

Initial Post-marital Residence by Age and Sex, Ban Pong, 1973

(a) MALES (% of age group)

Current Age Group	Initial Residence		
	Uxorilocal	Virilocal	Neolocal
15-24	47.4%	36.3%	10.5%
25-34	36.5	35.2	38.2
35-44	43.4	23.0	33.6
45-54	47.8	6.7	45.5
55-64	37.3	8.5	54.2
65-74	27.0	10.8	62.2
75 plus	6.7	13.3	80.0
Total	39.5	19.4	39.7

(b) FEMALES

Current Age Group	Initial Residence		
	Uxorilocal	Virilocal	Neolocal
15-24	40.4	34.6	25.0
25-34	36.8	31.6	31.6
35-44	49.2	19.2	31.6
45-54	42.9	10.2	46.9
55-64	36.6	7.3	56.1
65-74	31.2	15.6	53.2
75 plus	46.2	0	53.8
Total	41.6	19.8	38.5

The relatively low incidence of initial uxorilocal residence at all ages is immediately striking. Furthermore, the fact that well over half of all marriages of men, now aged 55 and over, were initially neolocal, was most unexpected[1]. With the exception of females aged 75 or more, there is a clear trend of steadily falling rates of neolocality over time; a rising, and later slightly falling, trend in uxorilocality, and a rise in virilocality which is marked for both men and women below age 45.

Since Potter had found a significantly lower rate for uxorilocal residence in exogamous marriages in Ku Daeng (see p.426 above), initial post-marital residence of in-marrying males and females in extant first marriages in Ban Pong was analysed. Of the 22 in-marrying males, 13 (59%) had resided uxorilocally at the beginning of their marriages, while 18 of the 27 in-marrying females had resided virilocally (67%). Unfortunately Potter does not define the exogamous marriages according to whether the in-marrying spouse is male or female, but since he is discussing uxorilocal residence, one might assume that he is referring to in-marriage of males. On this assumption, the data for Ban Pong present a very different picture to those for Ku Daeng, with in-marrying males in Ban Pong having a much higher rate of uxorilocality than the majority who were already resident in the Village at the time of their marriage. Bearing in mind the fact, noted earlier, that exogamous marriages were in the minority in Ban Pong, initial post-marital residence was analysed for all ever-married men and women in the Village, according to their place of birth, to see whether or not place of birth has influenced residence patterns for men and women already living in Ban Pòng at the time of their marriage (Table 61).

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[1] Re-checking, in the field, to ensure that the responses did in fact refer to initial post-marital residence, confirmed their accuracy.

Table 61

Initial Post-marital Residence
by Place of Birth and Sex, Ban Pong, 1973

(a) MALES (% by place of birth)

Place of birth	Initial Residence		
	Uxorilocal	Virilocal	Neolocal
Ban Pong[1]	37.5%	24.6%	37.9%
Mae Taeng District	45.1	9.8	45.1
Chiengmai Province	42.4	8.5	49.1
Other Provinces	40.6	17.4	42.0
Total	39.5	19.4	39.7

(b) FEMALES

Place of birth	Initial Residence		
	Uxorilocal	Virilocal	Neolocal
Ban Pong	47.5%	15.4%	37.1%
Mae Taeng District	26.6	28.9	44.5
Chiengmai Province	33.3	24.6	42.1
Other Provinces	33.3	29.7	37.0
Total	41.6	19.8	38.5

It appears that although the majority of ever-married men and women were living in Ban Pong at the time of their first marriage, the original place of birth of the partners has had a significant influence in determining post-marital residence patterns[2]. Women born in Ban Pong were three times more likely to have resided uxorilocally immediately after their first marriage, than virilocally, whereas women born outside the village (yet living in Ban Pong prior to marriage), were as likely to have resided virilocally as uxorilocally. Men, on the other hand, whilst

[1] Analysis of extant first marriages in which both partners were born in Ban Pong (N=116), showed little variation from this pattern; 44% of couples were initially uxorilocal, 22% virilocal and 34% neolocal.

[2] It should be noted that many other factors such as birth order, age of parents at the time of marriage, and relative wealth of families of each spouse influence residence choices. Such factors have not been analysed here because of limitations of space.

those born in Ban Pong were somewhat more likely to have resided uxorilocally than virilocally, those born elsewhere in Chiengmai Province were over five times more likely to have resided uxorilocally than virilocally. Men and women born in other Provinces show a comparatively high rate of initial virilocality; the fact that 70% of these individuals had come from Lamphun, appears to have been a significant factor[1]. Initial neolocal residence, although slightly less common for those born in Ban Pong, does not vary significantly according to place of birth, or sex.

According to the literature, the actual period of time spent in initial uxorilocal residence following marriage is usually a minimum of one year, both ideally and statistically (see Turton, 1972:221; Davis, 1973;55, and potter, 1976:118). Nevertheless, most writers concede that economic factors can play a significant part in influencing this pattern. Davis states that the period of initial uxorilocality '...is especially brief if the husband's labour is needed in his own home' (ibid), while Wijeyewardene writes:

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[1] Over 70% of ever-married men and women born in 'other provinces' had come from Lamphun. They form the largest minority group in Ban Pong, representing about 13% of the total population. Most of these migrants call themselves Yǫng which, according to Chotisukharat (1969:167) are the same ethnic group as the Lu' or Lue. Moerman, who studied a village of Lue in Chiengkham, found that their '...rules of residence require that the young couple spend, at first, three years with one set of parents, then three years with the other.' (1968:130). If the Yǫng and Lue are in fact the same group, this could account for the comparatively high incidence of virilocality found for the Yǫng in Ban Pong. This tendency is particularly marked in the age groups over 45 years where individuals born in Lamphun comprise 43.5% of all ever-married individuals who had resided virilocally after marriage. In other words there were more than three times the expected number of Yǫng in this sub-population as compared to their relative numbers in the village. When compared to ever-married individuals of <u>all</u> ages, the Yǫng still show a higher than average tendency for virilocality, particularly the females in this group. If Yǫng are excluded from the ever-married population, the rates of virilocality are 16.9% for males and 17.2% for females, while for the total Yǫng population the rates are 22.0% for males and 36.8% for females.

> 'If a girl from a large but landless family marries a man from another village[1], who has land of his own or a secure occupation, there is little doubt that they will ultimately live in the man's home, and often he will take her there from the start of their marriage' (n.d.:31, my emphasis).

Potter (1976:119) gives a number of examples whereby the ideal residence pattern is modified, including such situations as where a young man has no sisters to perform the 'woman's work' in his parents' household, or where personal conflict between the man and his parents-in-law makes co-residence unacceptable.

The period spent in initial uxorilocal residence by couples in extant first marriages in Ban Pong was analysed (Table 62). Overall, about one third of the 107 couples who had resided uxorilocally after marriage had moved out of the wife's parents' home by the end of the first year. A further 25% of couples remained in uxorilocal residence for 2 or 3 years, while 14% had remained for 4 years or more before setting up home elsewhere.

Table 62

Period of Initial Uxorilocal Residence by Husband's Age: Extant First Marriages, Ban Pong, 1973 (% in age group)

Current Age of Husband	One year or less	2 or more years	Still Residing Uxorilocally
15-24	50.0%	12.5%	37.5%
25-34	43.0	23.8	33.3
35-44	32.4	43.2	24.4
45-54	33.3	44.4	22.2
55 plus[2]	7.1	57.1	35.7
Total (107)	33.0	39.0	28.0

[1] Or presumably from the same village.

[2] Because of small numbers of males aged 55 or more in extant first marriages which had been initially uxorilocal, all men over this age have been analysed together.

With the exception of three couples, who then spent a short period residing virilocally before moving to their own home,all proceeded to reside neolocally on leaving the wife's parents' home. Although only 28% of couples in extant first marriages who had been initially in uxorilocal residence were still residing with the wife's parents, or in their house (following their death), a number of other couples had set up home near to the wife's parents' house, or within their compound. However, due to excessive crowding in Ban Pong in recent years and a lack of new house sites except in the north-western extremes of the village, the incidence of matrilaterally-linked households clustered in compounds, apparently common in other Northern Thai villages, was low. In most cases such compounds involved middle-aged or elderly siblings who had established their homes some decades ago.

When time spent in initial uxorilocal residence is analysed by the age of the husband in extant first marriages (Table 62), it appears that the proportion of couples spending more than one year in this type of residence is decreasing,though, as one might expect in terms of the developmental cycle of residential units, the proportion currently residing uxorilocally is higher for the younger age groups. It is of particular interest to note that in more than 90% of initially uxorilocal marriages involving men aged 55 or over, the couple had remained in the wife's parental home for two years or more, in sharp contrast to the next younger age group in which less than 70% had resided uxorilocally for more than one year.

Couples in extant first marriages who had first resided virilocally following marriage tended to move to neolocal residence later than those who had resided uxorilocally. Only 24% (of 63 couples) had moved at the end of the first year of marriage, a further 14% moved after 2 or 3 years, while 22% stayed for more than 4 years. Forty percent of the couples were still residing virilocally at the time of the survey. However, since such small numbers are involved (63 couples), it is difficult to draw any conclusions about changes occurring over time. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, virilocal residence has become more common in recent years, and only 10 of the 63 husbands were over 45 years of age. All of the older couples had remained in virilocal residence for more than four years, and as noted above, most of them were Yǫng. Eight of the younger couples had moved later to the home of the wife's parents, while the remainder moved to set up their own household.

Of the 83 couples in extant first marriages who had resided neolocally immediately following marriage, three subsequently moved into the wife's parents' home, and three into the home of the husband's parents. A summary of changes in residence of all 253 couples is presented in Table 63 below:

Table 63

Residence Changes of Couples in Extant First Marriages, Ban Pong, 1973

Initial Residence	Interim Residence	Current Residence
Uxorilocal (107)	Virilocal (3)	Uxorilocal (30)
		Virilocal (0)
		Neolocal (77)
Virilocal (63)	Uxorilocal (8)	Uxorilocal (6)
	Neolocal (1)	Virilocal (25)
		Neolocal (32)
Neolocal (83)		Uxorilocal (3)
		Virilocal (3)
		Neolocal (77)

At the time of the survey, 73.5% of couples in extant first marriages were residing neolocally[1], 15.4% uxorilocally, and 11.1% virilocally. For comparison, the pattern of residence for all households in the Village was analysed. Of the 460 households in the Village in 1974, just over half 239 (52%) were nuclear, or elementary conjugal, that is comprising a married couple and their children. A further 39 households (8.5%) included single parents with children, and of these, 30 were mothers and only 9 fathers, reflecting the more common practice for children to remain with their mothers following divorce. Thirteen households were nuclear plus kin of the wife (2.8%) and three were nuclear with kin of the husband (0.6%). There were 30 households in which a couple was living alone (6.5%), either newly married, or elderly couples whose children had left home. There were 11 individuals living alone, all of them elderly widows or widowers (6 men and 5 women - 2.3%). Sixty-seven households included matrilateral extended kin (14.6%), and 44 patrilateral extended kin (9.6%)[2]. Although most of these households included three generations, there were a number of cases in which grandparents were living with their grandchildren[3]. A further three cases of extended households included children and grandchildren who were linked both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. The remaining eleven households included three in which siblings were living alone, three with siblings, and children of other siblings resident elsewhere, and other miscellaneous groups of kin. Although the expected matrilateral bias is evident in the household structure of Ban Pong, it is very much weaker than that found in other communities in the North.

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[1] Although quantitative data were not available for the composition of compound households in Ban Pong, my impression was that young couples were just as likely to build their own homes in the compound of, or near to, the house of the husband's parents as the wife's parents, if such a choice was open to them. However, as has been noted already, overcrowding has forced most young couples to build their new homes at the edges of the village.

[2] These included 59 uxorilocal and 28 virilocal extended households.

[3] These were mainly children whose parents were resident in pa miang (see Chapter 8, pp.377-378).

The data for post-marital residence in Ban Pong indicate that considerable changes have occurred over the five decades for which they are available. It would seem likely therefore that the variations in patterns of post-marital residence found elsewhere in the literature may reflect similar processes of adaptation. The demographic and economic correlates of such changes, as they have occurred in Ban Pong, will be discussed in the following section.

9.4 The Impact of Demographic and Economic Change on Marriage Patterns in Ban Pong

The analysis of marriage patterns presented above has been directed towards two main aims; first, to determine the extent to which the data for Ban Pong reflect the models presented in the literature on Northern Thailand, and second to examine the way in which marriage patterns in the Village have evolved over time in response to changing economic and demographic conditions.

Comparison of the data for Ban Pong with those described in other studies highlights the need for detailed quantitative data in order to verify assumptions made in the field on the basis of observation of current patterns, and of reports from informants about conditions in the past. Overall, it would seem that in most of the major features studied, marriage patterns in Ban Pong show a much greater divergence from traditional ideology than those described in other studies. Although those families who still thu' phipuya continue to make offerings to the ancestor spirits prior to a marriage, almost 30% of households in the Village had abandoned their spirits (thing phi pai laeo, see p.460 below), and these

families have introduced a new type of payment, kha namnom, to replace the traditional marriage fee. Nevertheless, Ban Pong conforms to the patterns found elsewhere in terms of the continuing need for a payment to be made to the bride's family in order to legitimate a marriage.

The selection of marriage partners indicated three major criteria operating in Ban Pong, one of them practical, the other two structural. A desirable and acceptable spouse should be a good worker, not be close matrilateral kin, but should be in the same age group in terms of the 12-year animal cycle. There was no evidence in support of Potter's assertion that virginity is a critical factor in marriageability of women, nor of a preference for cousin marriage as suggested by Turton (except as part of an economic strategy in a small minority of cases).

Ban Pong differs again from the other studies in terms of post-marital residence patterns. The proportion of exogamous marriages was much lower than in other areas. Analysis of residence patterns over time showed considerable variation in the incidence of initial uxorilocality, presented as the norm (statistically, as well as ideally) in all other studies. It appears that at no time, at least over the past fifty years, has the rate of initial uxorilocal residence in Ban Pong been as high as those cited in other studies. Residence patterns also appear to vary according to the place of birth of partners, even for couples where both partners were living in the Village at the time of marriage. Of those couples who did reside uxorilocally following marriage, the majority spent at least one year in the home of the bride's parents, but it appears that the time spent in initial uxorilocal residence is becoming shorter in the younger age groups. Unlike the other studies, neolocal residence was the

predominant form of initial post-marital residence in Ban Pong in the past, a factor probably related to the more recent settlement and hitherto largely migrant nature of its population. A significant minority of Yǫng people in Ban Pong accounts for a proportion of initially virilocally resident marriages, and in recent years this type of residence has become increasingly common among all groups in the community in the face of growing economic pressures.

The Ban Pong data indicate considerable flexibility of traditional residence rules, though the degree to which such rules have been adapted in the community may again be related to its recent settlement. It is possible that following settlement of the village towards the end of the last century, economic conditions changed so rapidly that there was insufficient time for traditional patterns to have become firmly established as in longer settled communities.

Elsewhere in this thesis (see Appendix 4), I have noted that changes in age at marriage can be analysed in terms of three time periods, corresponding approximately with pre-1940, the 1940s and 1950s, and post-1960. When patterns of post-marital residence are examined in terms of these three periods, the following distinctions may be drawn; in the first period, pre-1940, men were marrying on average between the ages of 23 and 25, though a considerable proportion had postponed marriage until their late twenties. The large majority of women had married by the age of 22, and very few were still unmarried by the age of 25. At a time when 50% or more of the men and women marrying had been born outside the Village, it was not surprising to find that between 30 and 40% of the marriages had occurred elsewhere, and that the spouses had moved to the village together.

Forty percent or less of marriages occurring at that time were between men and women, both of whom had been born in Ban Pong, but only a minority of marriages were exogamous. Well over half of the men and women marrying at that time resided independently of either spouse's parents following marriage, about one third had resided uxorilocally, and the remainder, predominantly Yǫng people, had resided virilocally.

In the second period, during the 1940s and 1950s, some men were marrying considerably later than before, and a few of their peers had remained unmarried. Nevertheless, overall, men at this time married on average at a similar age to those in the earlier period, that is between the ages of 23 and 25. Women at this time were marrying slightly later than before, with 10% or more still unmarried at the age of 26. Well over half of the men and women marrying during this period had been born in Ban Pong, and over 50% of the marriages were between individuals, both of whom had been born in the Village. Again, cases involving a spouse marrying into the Village were rare, and in most cases these were men or women from places such as Lamphun Province, Doi Saket or San Pa Tong Districts, who had moved in order to marry others who themselves (or whose parents) had moved at an earlier date from the same location. Over 40% of couples had resided uxorilocally following marriage, and the rate of neolocality had declined since the earlier period. Initial virilocality was still extremely low. It is noteworthy that despite the increase in initial uxorilocality, the period involved had begun to decline, with less than two thirds of the couples remaining in this type of residence for more than one year.

In the third period, since 1960, many men had postponed marriage until their late twenties or early thirties, while women were marrying slightly earlier than in Period 2, a pattern similar to that occurring prior to 1940. By this time the majority of young men and women marrying had been born in Ban Pong, and the incidence of exogamy was even lower than in the two earlier periods. Only a minority of couples had set up independent residence following marriage, but the rate of virilocality had increased rapidly to almost equal the rate of initial uxorilocality. About half of the couples marrying during this period, who had resided uxorilocally following marriage, had left the parental home within the first year.

To account for these three distinctive patterns in terms of the economic and demographic conditions prevailing during each period is of course a matter of conjecture. Furthermore, as economic changes in Ban Pong have gradually led to economic polarisation in the community, with increasing landlessness on the one hand, and a growing monopoly of resources by a minority of households on the other, the marriage patterns discussed above will mask growing differences between households in the community. Nevertheless, at a fairly general level it is possible to point to major changes which can account for certain trends evident in the data on marriage and residence.

For example, in the first period, as we have seen, the majority of the population of the Village had moved there from other parts of Chiengmai Province, or from other Northern Provinces. Although some couples had moved to the Village some time after marriage, others had come immediately following marriage, a factor contributing to the high proportion of initial neolocality. Little is known of the residence patterns in such a recently

settled community, but in view of the diversity of origins of migrants to Ban Pong, and their comparatively recent arrival at the time, it could be argued that traditional residence patterns prevailing in their natal villages had broken down during this period. The fact that in Period 2, when a much larger proportion of individuals marrying were second generation residents of the Village, the rate of initial uxorilocality increased quite rapidly, would suggest a temporary re-establishment of traditional patterns. Furthermore, it is likely that in Period 1 some land in the Valley remained uncleared (even if already laid claim to), and under such conditions it would seem that neolocal residence would be the logical choice for a newly married couple. After 1940 however, virtually all land in the Valley was under cultivation and therefore the labour requirements would have approached those of longer settled communities, hence the increase in initial uxorilocal residence of couples marrying at this time.

However, the population of Ban Pong had already begun to expand rapidly, not only as a result of an influx of new migrants during the Japanese Occupation of Thailand in the early 1940s, but also as a result of falling mortality and a rise in fertility. Thus by the beginning of the third period, in 1960, the problems associated with rapid population growth were becoming evident, and economic pressures were increasing. Although the problem of landlessness in Ban Pong had been growing since the first few decades of this century, it would not have become a serious problem until the population had outgrown the labour requirements of the land available to the community. With growing un- and under-employment, some young men in the community would have been forced to postpone marriage, and with increasing crowding within the residential area of the Village, newly married couples were forced to live with whichever parental family could support them and make best use of their labour. Thus economic necessity had begun to take precedence over traditional values.

9.5 Characteristics of the Phipunya Cults

I have already referred to the existence of female-based spirit cults reported widely in Northern Thailand, and noted that they provide supernatural sanction for the preferential marriage and residence patterns discussed in the first half of this Chapter. I would like now to turn my attention to these cults, first describing their major characteristics and functions as reported in the literature, and later examining the way in which they operate in Ban Pong, and the extent to which they have been influenced by demographic and economic changes.

First a word about terminology; involvement in a cult is described as thu' phipunya. Thu' can mean 'to believe in', 'to respect', or 'to celebrate', as of a religious rite. It is used to express religious conviction as in thu' satsana phut, 'to believe in Buddhism', but does not involve the concept of exclusiveness found in the English equivalent. Thus it is not inconsistent for a Northern Thai villager to thu' both Buddhism and the spirit cults, as well as the myriad of other spirits. The term punya, as in phipunya (phi simply meaning 'spirit'), although referring in Central Thai to patrilateral grandparents, has the more general meaning in the North of 'grandparents' or 'ancestors', regardless of lineage[1].

The major features characterising the cults, and the significant differences noted by anthropologists working in various parts of the Northern Region, have been well scrutinised by a number of writers (see Wijeyewardene, 1977; Thake, 1979; and Hale, 1979). My purposes here therefore is to present only a brief and far from exhaustive summary of these major features with which to compare my own data for Ban Pong.

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[1] See Turton (1976:231-233), Wijeyewardene (n.d.) and Cohen (n.d.).

The general consensus among anthropologists working in Northern Thailand is that the spirits around which the cults are organised are not in fact ancestors, known or unknown, but rather a collective[1] of tutelary spirits inherited from the ancestors, through the female line[2]. Thus phipunya may best be translated as 'spirits belonging to the ancestors', rather than 'ancestor spirits' per se. Only Turton (the first to publish his findings on the subject), differs on this point, arguing that the spirits are in fact 'a cateogry of jurally superior kinsmen' (1972:237), an interpretation which he presents as central to the cults' function of settling 'troubled relations within the descent group' (ibid.243). However, a number of writers, including Turton, have noted that in some instances the spirits of a particular group are identified as named legendary princely figures (see also Davis, 1973), with whom the possibility of kinship links does not arise. I would argue that such cases provide strong evidence in support of the 'spirits belonging to the ancestors' formulation, and would go so far as to suggest that in the past most, if not all of the spirits were thus identified, but that their names have been forgotten with time and the recurrent fissioning of the groups[3]

(see p.446, below).

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[1] Irvine (n.d.), offers a fascinating interpretation of the ambiguous plurality of the phipunya; he describes

> '...a collective persona of unspecified and unnamed spirits... capable of infinite division and fragmentation...(involving) a culture-specific relationship between the categories 'individual' and 'collective' which are less well bounded than their modern Western counterparts.'

[2] See Davis (1973:59), Wijeyewardene (1977:19) and Cohen (n.d.).

[3] Irvine (n.d.), presents an interesting and contrary case of the descendants of the warrior Phanya Chomphu, who was said to have founded the village some 200 years ago. His weapons and certain articles of clothing are in the possession of the lineage elder, and offerings are made to Phanya Chomphu as phipunya. However, it is also worthy of note that Turton refers to a story of the origin of lineage spirits in which all lineage spirits had been bought by men (1972:245). I would suggest that such an explanation provides more support for my own argument than for Turton's.

The size of the clans or 'matriphrased groups'[1] varies from place to place, and also within each community. Turton and Potter both speak of clans tracing kinship back as far as eight generations, and including hundreds or members, while Davis has noted that some groups in Ban Thaa trace membership back even beyond the foundation of the village. Each clan, regardless of size, has a kao phi (lit. 'stem' or 'trunk' person associated with the spirits, i.e. the clan elder), who may also be the ritual officiant. In some cases the clan elder and the ritual officiant are one and the same person, but occasionally a clan might have a female elder and a male ritual officiant.

Offerings are made at certain regular times of the year, but not all clans recognise each of these ritual occasions. However, the most important calendrical ritual, observed by virtually all clans, takes place in the ninth month which usually falls in June. The implications of the timing of this ritual during the period of highest demand for labour in the agricultural cycle, as noted by Turton (1976:226), will be discussed later (see p.456). Offerings are also made by many of the clans to mark New Year, in mid-April, and at the beginning and end of Buddhist Lent. In addition, offerings are made to mark marriages of all women, or sexual trespass which had involved one of the women but which has not led to marriage (see p.411, footnote 3). Cohen (n.d.) has also noted offerings made to mark births and ordinations, but these have not been observed by other writers, nor by myself.

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[1] Term used by Delaney (1977).

The offering required varies from group to group, according to the preference of each particular clan's spirits. In some cases a pig's head is required, in others a chicken; hence the question asked by the courting man, phi kin anyang? [1] ('What do your spirits eat?'). Offerings are usually accompanied by a variety of other items including rice, sweets, cigarettes, and in a few cases, alcohol. The shrine of the phipunya at which the offerings are presented is usually a shelf, hing phi, located in the bedroom of a group elder, or a small, house-like construction, hu'an phi, built outside her house[2]. The distribution of such shrines varies from area to area; in some cases each member household has its own hing, in others the only shrine is in the house of the group elder, while in some there is both a hing and a hu'an, the latter sometimes being the domain of male clan members (see Cohen, n.d.).

When an offering is to be made, the ritual officiant presents the cooked food to the spirits on the shelf or spirit house, whilst informing the spirits of the reason for the offering. Once it is felt that the spirits have eaten their fill (see Potter, 1976:145), the offerings are removed and consumed by those clan members who are present.

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[1] Turton (1972:232) states that in Chiengrai Province the more expensive pig's head offering is invariably made in cases of sexual trespass prior to marriage, while chicken is offered at marriages where there has been no such trespass. Another possible explanation for the variations in offerings required by clan spirits is that the majority of phipunya cult groups found in Northern Thailand today may be attenuated forms of the phi mot or phi meng groups still found in certain areas, in which case the dietary preferences of the spirits may be of totemistic origin. (Irvine, personal communication).

[2] See Thake (1979:14-15) for a discussion of the spirit shelf and spirit house.

If a member of the clan has misbehaved, or for some other reason the spirits have been angered, it is likely that one of the members, or even their co-residential affines, will become sick[1]. The cause of the offence, and the offerings required to make amends, will then be determined through the village spirit medium or diviner[2].

Under certain circumstances cult groups are liable to fission, a process described as beng ('to divide' or 'to separate'). The most common contributory factors in such fissioning are geographical dispersion, and conflict between different individuals or sections of the group. Occasionally the mere size of a group may become so unwieldy that its members may decide to segment. In cases where the cause of fission is conflict within the group, the process of separation is likely to be formalized by offerings at both the original and the newly seceded shrines. In cases of geographical dispersal on the other hand, recognition of fission, marked by the establishment of a new shrine in the home of the migrant member, may not occur until sickness within the group is attributed to the phipunya.

The information presented by Turton and Davis on the nature of phipunya spirits following fission show marked differences. Turton argues that once segmentation has been ritually observed, the members are no longer phi diao kan ('of the same spirit') with those of the original group. Davis, however, on the basis of his data from Nan, maintains that even though in practical terms they may operate as separate clans, they are still said to be 'of the same clan', or 'of the same spirit' (1973:57,

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[1] Interestingly, Irvine (n.d.) notes that the phipunya themselves do not cause sickness directly, but 'get malevolent spirits to do their dirty work for them and inflict illness on their behalf.'

[2] In some areas the cult elder herself is medium for the group (see Irvine's discussion of phi mot and phi meng lineages (n.d.)).

and 61, footnote)[1]. Davis concludes therefore that:

> 'Matriclans are thus in a sense territorial, and when clan fission occurs it is along territorial rather than lineage lines.' (ibid.)

A critical determinant of whether or not a particular woman leaving her natal village will segment from her maternal cult group, is her marital status at the time she moves, since an elder or ritual officiant is required to be a mature married woman, and even, according to Delaney (1977:69), one who has already given birth. A woman leaving her village to marry elsewhere would not therefore be considered a suitable candidate for establishing a new cult, and would be expected to maintain her involvement with her mother's group as far as possible. Cohen goes further by saying that:

> 'The territorial dispersal of female members of matrilineages is largely a consequence of the fact that a woman, wherever she is living, will not secede until she has a daughter sufficiently mature to continue the propitiation of the phii puu yaa in the event of her death' (n.d.).

Another possible interpretation of the importance of a woman's marital status in determining whether or not she is able to segment when leaving her natal village, is related to the significance of the control of labour by cult groups, to be discussed below (see pp.454-456). If this formulation (that the control of labour is a major function of the cults) is accepted, it could be argued that a woman leaving her village to marry elsewhere has failed to make available to her own parents the labour of her husband-to-be, as required by tradition, whereas a woman who leaves her natal village some time after marriage would presumably be free of this obligation.

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[1] Cohen (n.d.) makes a similar observation regarding fission of cult groups in Ban Kat.

It should also be borne in mind here that within the traditional framework, marriage which involved a woman leaving her natal village to live virilocally, was by no means the norm, and may well have been subject to the disapproval of her maternal kin. On the other hand, the movement of a married woman away from her natal village, together with her husband and children, would have been a fairly common and socially acceptable strategy to avoid sub-division of the parental holding or to open up new lands elsewhere. The relationship between marital status at the time of migration of women born outside Ban Pong, and their participation in phipunya cults, is discussed in detail below (see pp.464-467).

There has been some disagreement in the literature over the question of male involvement in the cults[1], and it would seem that there is considerable regional variation, ranging from a recently emerging dominance of the cults by men, as part of a political strategy in Chiengrai (see Turton, 1972), to their apparent disinterest and almost complete lack of involvement in parts of Chiengmai (see p.459 below, and also Wijeyewardene, 1977:24). It would appear, however, that men's commonly expressed disdain for the cults, and ardently-voiced denial of involvement in them, serves to mask their considerable ambivalence towards the cults where they remain firmly under the control of women. A striking example of this is described by Irvine (n.d.) in his account of a phi meng curing ritual in which at one moment the men stand on the outside deriding the proceedings, while the next they are actively and publicly involved.

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[1] See Thake (1979:29) and Hale (1979:145-146) for a summary of this point.

However, it is not only men's involvement in the cults which has been open to question, but also the group to which they owe alliegence at different times of their lives. Davis has stated clearly that in Nan Province, men remain under the jurisdiction of their mothers' group spirits even after marriage (1973:61, footnote). Cohen, on the basis of his data for Ban Kat in San Pa Tong District of Chiengmai, has made a similar observation (n.d.) Turton, on the other hand, presents a rather ambiguous picture. Whilst asserting that '...at marriage a man buys entry into his wife's descent group...(and) is thereby lost to his mother's group' (1976:216), he comments later that after marriage, men are immune '...from the jural authority of their wives' descent group spirits,' but '...may still be victims of their maternal spirits.' (ibid.:231). The concept of a man's immunity to punishment by his wife's spirits would seem to be inconsistent with that of his full incorporation into her group. I would suggest, therefore, that the marriage payment (kha sia phi ao), rather than marking a man's entry into the cult group of his wife as a full member, as Turton has suggested, may instead be seen more simply as compensation to her spirits for his sexual transgression (see also Davis, 1974:85, note 24), and also as a means of 'gaining entry'[1] insofar as he will subsequently become a member of his wife's parents' household over which her ancestral spirits have jurisdiction. Furthermore, it would appear from all accounts that making the marriage payment, and moving into his bride's home, in no way changes a young man's relationship with his own mother's ancestral spirits.

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[1] The bridegroom's 'entrance' into his wife's parental house compound, and more importantly into the main bedroom of the house, is reflected traditionally in the domestic 'repair work' which he is expected to perform during the first weeks of marriage (see Turton, 1976:284).

9.6 Functions of the Phipunya Cults

The domestic spirit cults, as presented in the literature, involve groups of residentially contiguous, consanguineally-related females, and have as their major function the control of sexuality, marriage, and fertility of women in the group. Two writers have gone so far as to suggest that the cults may have developed '...as a response to the male domination and orientation of ritual life in general...' (Wijeyewardene, 1977:24), or as a '...complement to the Buddhist paraphenalia of the male...' (Delaney, 1977:103). Although indeed in many cases the cults allow women an area of almost exclusive ritual expression, I would suggest that such interpretations fail to account for the very different functions of Buddhism and the spirit cults in Northern Thai society. Nevertheless, insofar as Buddhism in Thailand has incorporated elements of indigenous beliefs about female pollution and its associated dangers to male power and dominance (see Irvine, n.d.) the cults could be seen as functioning to protect males from the potential hazards associated with female sexuality, whilst giving women supernatural control over this threatening aspect of their nature. An alternative interpretation is offered by Hale (1979:147), who argues that rather than the focus of ritual activity being on female sexuality, it is on male sexuality since it is the sexual trespass by a male on a female of the group which causes the displeasure of the spirits (see p.455 below, and Irvine, n.d.).

Apart from the control of sexuality, be it male or female, two other important functions of the cults which have been described in detail in the literature, are dispute settlement (see Turton, 1976), and the curing of mental and physical illness (see Irvine, n.d.). Both of these functions

are being rapidly eroded by the process of development, as the national judicial system and hospital medical facilities impinge increasingly on the lives of the rural population.

Perhaps the most controversial issue on the nature of the phipunya cults has been the question of their possible association with the control of resources. In many cases, writers have presented a somewhat ambiguous picture of this relationship. Turton, for example, whilst stating that the so-called 'descent groups' are not land-owning corporations[1], acknowledges a correlation between cult groups and wealth (1972:228). Similarly, Davis, while arguing that:

> 'Muang matriliny...does not overlap into economic, political, or other domains of social activity',

goes on immediately to refer to Mary Douglas'[2] suggestion that:

> '...the persistence of matriliny depends upon a high demand for male labour and a low demand for resources, especially land resources',

and to state that:

> 'If (Douglas) is correct, then the growing scarcity of rice land in Northern Thailand is a further factor in the decline of matriliny.' (1974:65).

As we shall see later, Davis' comment may well have been re-formulated in terms of the growing over-supply of labour in the Region. Unfortunately, like Turton, Davis fails to go further into this argument. Again, Delaney, whilst arguing on the one hand that the sole function of the spirit cults is the control of female sexuality and marriage, states that:

> 'Two important factors contribute to the activation of any particular line of females and the formation of a spirit cult. (These are)...the post-nuptual residence rule and the inheritance system, operating in unison.' (1977:69, my emphasis).

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[1] However, Turton adds the proviso 'not now', implying that he has not rejected the idea that this could have been the case in the past (1972:228).

[2] See Douglas (1969).

In a recent article, Hale has attempted to make more explicit the relationship between cult groups and control of land resources. Thus she writes:

> '...in the traditional subsistence system based on a subdivision of readily available land the female cults ensured the allocation and control of land through the female based kin groups. Rights to land were contingent on brothers relinquishing their rights to sisters. This is the essential organising feature of the spirit beliefs and the one that lends them their significance. (1979:148, my emphasis).

The problem at this point becomes one of causality. Undoubtedly post-marital residence patterns featuring predominant uxorilocality and village exogamy, would result in most of the land being held by women, despite the bilateral inheritance rule. The spirit cults, by exerting and maintaining supernatural control over the marriages of their female members, can certainly be seen as serving to perpetuate these residence and land ownership patterns. However, as Thake has argued so convincingly, previous analyses such as Turton's and Davis' have been confused by existing anthroplogical theories about matrilineality, and:

> 'The failure among Northern Thai ethnographers to realize that the discrepancy between the rule of bilateral inheritance and the tendency for females to inherit the house and gardens is problematic can be correlated with the failure to realize the importance of locality and the relationship existing between the post marital residence and the inheritance system.' (1979:38)

Instead Thake suggests:

> '...the emphasis should be placed on the principle of locality ...rather than the principle of descent; common residence, inheritance customs and cooperation in labour exchanges define group solidarity, not descent.' (ibid:49).

Thus in communities adhering to traditional residence rules, with most men marrying out of the village, and most couples residing uxorilocally, and where the majority of households still own, or have access to agricultural

land (primarily through its female members), the structures will indeed exhibit many features in common with matrilineality[1].

As Sulamith Heins Potter has emphasised (1977), a critical feature distinguishing the Northern Thai structures in their 'ideal' form from other systems of matrilineality, is of course that males in authority are almost invariably affines. It may have been the desire to account for this significant discrepancy noted earlier (p.449) which has led some writers to over-emphasise the degree to which males are incorporated into their wives' cult groups. Jack Potter has gone so far as to describe a process

> '... of affinal succession where authority in the family moves from father-in-law to son-in-law, men who are connected only by ties to their wives, a line of women.' (1976:125, my emphasis).

Indeed, his description of the most common relationship between co-resident adult males is accurate, but I would agree with Hale's reservations here in arguing that

> '...the essential organising features of the cults have little to do with a principle of succession, irrespective of its guise.' (1979:139)

The major problem with Hale's formulation in which allocation of land is seen as a major function of the cults is, as Turton has correctly noted, that they are not in fact land-owning corporations. As we have seen, land ownership follows a developmental cycle which begins with an individual heir inheriting a share of the parental property. At a later stage, as the owner's children grow up and marry, the holding will gradually be

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[1] Keyes, in his analysis of domestic group cycles in Northeast Thailand came to a similar conclusion:

> 'It is the rule of post-marital residence followed by most Ban Nǫngtuen villagers, not a rule of descent, which leads to the apparently matrilineal character of Ban Nǫngtuen kin groups.' (1975:295)

split up as a part of it is allocated to each married daughter (or son) who remains living locally. However, full ownership rights are not generally transferred until the death of the surviving parent. Thus for a pemiod of years, a holding may be farmed by a number of separate households, but, as Turton has written:

> '...the joint estates of extended families within the descent group are at most temporary entities...' (1976:226, my emphasis).

Indeed, under very specific circumstances, such as the parental household having recently segmented from the original cult group, the group of households farming land in common might also comprise the full membership of the cult group, but such a coincidence of membership would necessarily be both rare and transitory. Under most circumstances, and at most times, a cult group would include a number of discrete land-owning units comprising either individual households or groups of households as described above.

Instead I would suggest the following alternative formulation. As I have stressed repeatedly throughout this thesis, until comparatively recently land in Northern Thailand was plentiful in that it was available for clearance by whoever could summon sufficient labour to undertake the work involved. However, even after the land had been cleared, an irrigation system established, and the fields put under cultivation, the need for a steady and reliable supply of labour would have remained. If, as Turton has suggested (1972:225), the situation in the past was one of communities in which women formed the stable nucleus while men were frequently absent (at war, or performing corvee duties), the need to ensure a regular supply of labour would have been of critical importance. The coherence of such female-based residential units would have been maintained, given the preference for uxorilocality, while male offspring of the group would have

married out, to be replaced by in-marrying affines. In the long term then, women in the group would have been almost entirely dependent on the labour of affinal males, and consequently the marriage of their daughters and granddaughters would have been a central concern for as long as labour remained in short supply.

Furthermore, as we have seen (Chapter 7, p.318), traditionally the cultivation of irrigated holdings was performed predominantly by reciprocal labour groups. Given that membership of such groups was generally based on ties of kinship (Chapter 7, p.318), and therefore that the land holdings farmed by at least part of the group would tend to be the inherited properties of co-residential, consanguineal kin (who, as we have seen are most likely to have been females), it may be argued that the core of reciprocal labour groups would have coincided to a large extent with the cult groups, in terms of membership[1]. Maintenance of the size of the reciprocal labour group and of its individual components, would therefore have been a major concern of members of a cult group, since each land-owning household within it would have been dependent on many of the others to assist in the cultivation of its holding.

I would suggest therefore that rather than the control of land being a central function of the cults, their major focus is more likely to have been the control of labour. Only by maintaining strict rules about pre-marital behaviour could the women of the group have ensured that their nubile girls would provide them with the much needed 'work buffalo'[2].

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[1] Sulamith Heins Potter reports that reciprocal labour groups generally include

> '...a core of households in (a particular) part of the village which tend to exchange labour mostly with one another.' (1977:60)

She also remarks, with regards to the selection of labour groups that:

> 'As a general rule, villagers take particular care to help members of their immediate bilateral kin group, households which share the same matrilineal protective spirits, near neighbours, and political allies.' (ibid:58-59. My emphasis in both quotations.

[2] See Turton (1972:222).

Furthermore, if the cults are seen in terms of the control of labour, the significance of the timing of their major calendrical ritual (as noted by Turton, see p.444, above), in June, immediately prior to the onset of the peak working period in the agricultural cycle, becomes clear. In addition, the cults' other overt functions, notably the maintenance of good health and good relations within the group, make more sense within the framework of control of labour.

Finally I would argue that Hale's case for cult groups functioning to control the distribution of land, is applicable only in the specific instance of inheritance of the parental home and house site, a relationship made explicit by Davis (1974:64). I would suggest instead that the connection between cults, and patterns of inheritance of irrigated fields, is indirect. Although inheritance patterns and spirit cults are both linked in different ways to the preferential rule of post-marital residence, I would argue that they are not linked in any direct way to each other. While the relationship between the cults and residence rules is direct and reciprocal, the cults providing an ideological legitimation for the residence patterns, no such links exist between residence and inheritance of agricultural land. The important point to note here is the difference between ideology and practice. In the case of residence, the rule and the reality have, until very recently, tended to coincide, a fact which I would attribute to the powerful influence of the cults in maintaining the coherence of female residential groups. In the case of inheritance on the other hand, the rule and the reality have diverged considerably, as the bilateral inheritance rule has been subordinated to the more powerful rule of uxorilocal residence. Thus the tendency for women to inherit land in preference to men may be seen simply as a reflection of the residence patterns, rather than being an overt function of the domestic spirit cults.

It is only when a population begins to outstrip the resources available to it that such systems may be seen to break down and exhibit anomalous features, such as the emerging dominance of the cults by men, in Chiengrai and Nan, or their total abandonment by a significant proportion of the population as we shall see in the case of Ban Pong[1].

9.7 Cult Participation in Ban Pong

The operation of phipunya cults in Ban Pong is generally inconspicuous. It is possible that without the clues offered by Turton (whose original article on the cults was published during my first year in the field), I might have spent my entire period in the village without being aware of their existence. Indeed, Turton himself remarked that the cults (in Chiengrai Province), were not '...of any empirical obviousness' (1976: 213). Most women in Ban Pong were reticent, almost embarrassed, to discuss their participation in the cults. Despite repeated requests, over many months, to innumerable women in the village, I never managed to observe the ritual of presenting offerings to the spirits, ngan liang phipunya. My experience was similar to that reported by Turton (1972:227) and Potter[1] (1976:228-229, Note 7); it seemed as if the women would deliberately choose the one day in a particular month when they knew I would be out of the village, to perform the ritual. As an explanation for this behaviour, they would say, "Oh, there's nothing to it", "Nothing happens", or "It's no fun to watch". Since people in Ban Pong were

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[1] Interestingly, Hale reached a similar conclusion in her argument linking the cults with the control of land resources (1979:146).

[2] Potter's wife, Sulamith Heins Potter, was permitted to attend a phipunya offering (see Potter, J., 1976:145). More recently Turton has also been able to attend such a ritual (personal communication).

exceptionally co-operative in allowing me to participate in other ritual activities, I would suggest that their reluctance in this case may conceal the intensely private nature of the spirit cults, rather than the expressed indifference. The data presented below were collected during the first full survey of Ban Pong, which I conducted in March 1973.

Cult groups in Ban Pong were generally small, almost 75% of them including less than five member households, a factor largely attributable to the comparatively recent settlement of the community. For this reason I am reluctant to call them 'clans', and have therefore used the term 'cult groups' to refer to women who describe themselves as being phi diao kan, 'of the same spirit'. In all, 359 women in Ban Pong were involved in a cult, and 84 cult groups had their ritual focus in the village, giving an average of about four women per group[1]. However, since 20% of these women were involved in cults centred outside Ban Pong, the actual mean number of active participants in Ban Pong-based groups, is closer to three[2]. As we have seen, a critical element in membership of a cult group is a woman's status as a wife and mother, although a small number of older, unmarried women in Ban Pong also participated in a cult. Such cases were exceptional, and generally involved women who were the only surviving females in their group. In one case an elderly unmarried woman had become cult elder by default, since none of her married sisters was interested in taking responsibility for the cult.

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[1] Apart from the 35 cases in which a married daughter, living uxorilocally, participated actively in a cult with her mother, the number of women involved corresponds to the number of households. Allowing for such cases would thus reduce the average size slightly.

[2] In fact, most writers, with the exception of Davis and Potter, report an average of about 5 or 10 participating households per group.

There were only five cases of males functioning as kao phi (cult elder) in Ban Pong. Two of them were old men, living alone, both of whom, interestingly, had been ordained as monks for over fifteen years in their youth. The other three men were widowers who said that they were standing in as cult elders until one of their daughters or nieces was old enough to take over. There were a few cases of women being incorporated into the group of their husband's mother (usually in-marrying women whose natal village was some distance from Ban Pong Valley), and of men actively participating in the cults together with their mothers and sisters (usually middle-aged unmarried men or elderly widowers), but such cases were rare, and do not appear to be of any structural signifiance[1].

Incorporation of a man into the cult group of his wife was not reported by any of the respondents to the survey. In fact, the consensus of opinion in Ban Pong was that although they were recognised as being nominal members of their mothers' group, the cults were simply of no interest to males, an opinion expressed by both women and men. They would say "phu chai bo kiao bo son" ('they are not the concern of men, they are of no interest to them'. See p.448). Nevertheless, the persistence of the ritual criss-crossing the spirits, khwai phi (see p.414), would suggest that the marriage of sons of cult members is still considered to be the

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[1] Cohen (n.d.) makes a similar observation for cults in Ban Kat.

concern of the phipunya, though to a lesser extent than the marriage of daughters[1].

Almost 30% of households in Ban Pong did not thu' phipunya. Of these 120 households, 10 included Christian families who said that the spirit cults were not a matter which concerned them. A further 17 of these households included no adult female. Women in the other 93 households who did not participate in any cult activity, claimed to have "thing phi pai laeo" ('cast away' or 'abandoned' their spirits), implying that while they, or their mothers or grandmothers, had once been involved in a cult, they no longer concerned themselves with them. Most told stories of disillusionment with the spirits when they failed to cure sickness of a family member despite repeated offerings, which had led to the decision to give them up altogether[2]. Others said that they had dropped out of the cults because they felt that they were pointless or old-fashioned. It is particularly interesting to note that despite this substantial incidence

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[1] The expressed function of the khwai phi ritual is, as noted earlier (see p. 414), to inform both groups of spirits that they are now part of a new kindred. It is said that if this ritual is not performed, the bride would not be able to stay overnight in her husband's parents' home for fear of angering her mother-in-law's spirits. Conversely, as Cohen has noted, the ritual

> '...serves to introduce the spirits of both lineages...so that the husband and his matrikin can sleep at his wife's house without fear of harm from her lineage spirits.' (n.d.)

The rule requiring spatial separation of women from different cult groups was much weaker in Ban Pong than for example in Nan, where I was obliged to sleep in an outhouse when visiting Richard Davis in the field, for fear of offending the spirits of his host family. This was never the case in Ban Pong (where I slept many nights in different houses waiting for babies to be born), nor in the villages studied by Turton or Cohen which I also visited and stayed in overnight. I would suggest that the concepts explicit in the khwai phi ritual provide strong evidence against Turton's argument of male incorporation into their wife's cult group following marriage (see p.449).

[2] I recorded only one case in which abandonment of spirits involved an act of violence against the shrine itself by an affinal male (this followed the death of the man's wife after months of offerings had been made to her spirits in the hope that she would recover from her sickness). For other cases see Cohen (n.d.). Generally in Ban Pong, the decision to stop making offerings to the phipunya would follow a long period of progressively declining interest.

of abandonment by women in Ban Pong of the phipunya, there were only two households in the Village[1] whose members had been openly accused of harbouring the voracious phi ka' spirit which, as Irvine has noted, is said to be '...ancestors rendered malevolent by the frustrated anger caused by descendents' neglect...' (n.d.). I would suggest that in a community such as Ban Pong, which has experienced rapid and extreme socio-economic changes in the comparatively short time since its settlement, the traditional structural relationships required to interpret neglect or abandonment of the spirits in terms of the creation of the anti-social ka' spirit, had never been firmly established[2].

In order to determine the characteristics of households in which women had ceased to participate in the phipunya cults, the 93 households were investigated in detail. High socio-economic status was evidently an important variable in abandonment of the cults: 18 of the 25 largest land-owning households in the village, as well as all four households including a village teacher, were in this group. It is interesting to note here that other writers, such as Turton (1972:244), have found that wealthy land-owners often intensify their involvement in the cults, and that almost invariably in such cases male kin take over their operation as part of a political strategy, whereas the Ban Pong elite have tended to choose to dis-associate themselves from the cults[3] (see p.473).

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[1] See Appendix 6, Cases 25 and 29.

[2] In rural Nan, there are a number of villages entirely populated by individuals referred to as phi ka' (Davis, personal communication).

[3] It might also be argued that the Ban Pong elite have created their own distinctive 'cult' in the establishment of the exclusive Aranyika monastery in the South of the Village (see Chapter 7, p.311) as well as having a monopoly on political power in the Village for more than 50 years.

It was interesting to note that age seemed to be a critical factor in determining the rate of participation in the cults of Ban Pong. A high proportion of women aged between 35 and 45 had abandoned the spirits (see Table 64). There are two possible explanations for this. Firstly, and most simply, it may be that the cults are gradually dying out in Ban Pong as part of a generalised process of modernisation. The slightly higher rate of involvement of women in the younger age groups (under 35) may only be a temporary phenomenon, since some of these women are likely to still be under the influence of their mothers, some of them currently residing uxorilocally, and they may, in time, elect to withdraw from active participation in their group.

Table 64

Participation in Spirit Cults by Age: Ever-married Women[1], Ban Pong, 1973

Age Group	Participate % of all in age group	Kao Phi % of all partic. in age grp.	Do not participate % of all in age group
15-24	73%	-	27%
25-34	71.3	1.4%	28.7
35-44	67.2	12.2	32.8
45-54	80.4	23.3	19.6
55-64	85.7	43.0	14.3
65-74	61.5	79.2	38.5
75 plus	75.0	73.0	25.0
Total	73.2	22.0[2]	26.8

[1] Includes a small number of older unmarried women.

[2] In 5 of the 84 cult groups whose focus was in Ban Pong, the kao phi was male (see p.459 above).

An alternative explanation may be that participation in the cults follows a developmental cycle in a similar way to that found for domestic groups in Northern Thailand (see Potter, 1976:121-123; and Thake, 1979:42-48). The age groups in which the rates of participation are highest are between 45 and 64, and to a lesser extent under 35 and over 75. As I have already remarked, higher rates of participation among young women may well be related to the fact that they had recently married for the first time and, in some cases, were still residing uxorilocally (see p.470, below). Women aged between 45 and 64 included many of the mothers of recently married, or marriageable-age girls, and as such were perhaps more strongly motivated to participate in the cults. The large majority of older women, aged 65 and over, who participated in a cult, were cult elders. Although the age group 65-74 included the highest proportion of cult elders among women who were participating in a cult, it is interesting to note that it also includes the highest proportion of women who had abandoned their spirits. Unfortunately I do not have the necessary data to determine the relationship between this tendency and factors such as the position of these women in their sibling group, nor of the specific historical details of the cult groups to which they had once belonged. However, it could be argued that women in this age group, whose daughters would almost certainly have long since been married, if not given the specific responsibility of being the kao phi for their cult group, would have little motivation to participate regularly in the rituals, except perhaps in the rare case of sickness of a group member being attributed to the displeasure of the phipunya.

9.8 The Impact of Changing Patterns of Migration and Residence on Cult Participation in Ban Pong

I would now like to look at the way in which size, focus and level of participation in the phipunya cults may be influenced by demographic factors. A critical variable determing the size of cult groups in Ban Pong is the place of birth of the cult elder. Over half the kao phi (cult elders)[1] had been born outside the village, which is as expected in view of the fact that the majority of older women had been migrants. Of all women born outside Ban Pong who were currently involved in a cult, 33% were kao phi, as compared to only 15.3% of those born in the village. Again, since the majority of kao phi were older women and many of the older women had been born outside Ban Pong, this is not in itself of particular significance. However, an interesting pattern emerges when women born outside the village are further analysed according to whether they had come to the village as children with their parents, to marry, or after marriage (see Table 65).

Table 65

Participation in Spirit Cults by Place of Birth and Time of Movement to Ban Pong

	Total Number	Participate in a Cult	Focus of Cult in Ban Pong (% of Participators)	Kao phi
All ever-married women[2]	490	73.3%	79.3%	22.0%
Women born in Ban Pong	315	75.1	86.6	15.3
Women coming as Children	79	77.2	82.0	34.4
Women coming to marry	56	69.6	35.9	10.2
Women coming after marriage	40	75.0	73.3	60.0

[1] In all Ban Pong-based cult groups, the elder and ritual officiant were one and the same person.

[2] Includes a small number of older, unmarried women.

Of those women born outside Ban Pong who had moved into the village after marriage, 60% were kao phi, as compared to 34.4% of those who had come as children[1], and only 10% of those who had come to marry. The figures reflect the critical elements involved in group fission described earlier (p. 447 above), that is that women who migrate after marriage tend to segment from their natal group and set up a new group on their own, whereas women who leave their natal group to marry are not generally able to do so. The migratory history of the kao phi also has a direct bearing on the size and depth of the cult group membership, since a woman coming to the village following marriage would have founded a new cult, centred initially on only one household. As one would expect, the largest cult groups in Ban Pong (including up to 8 or 10 member households), were those centred around elderly kao phi who had been born in the village, or around very old women who had come as children, and were now grandmothers or great-grandmothers[2].

As mentioned above, 20% of women involved in a cult had their ritual focus outside Ban Pong. Of these, proportionately the greatest number were women who had married into the village, 64% of whom maintained links with a cult in their natal village (see Table 65). It is interesting to note that there did not appear to be a tendency for in-marrying women to segment eventually from their original cult group, and establish themselves as independent kao phi, even once their own daughters had reached maturity and married. Distance from the natal village was an important

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[1] i.e. with their mothers who, as married women, were likely to have segmented from their original group and set up their own cult in Ban Pong.

[2] The average age of cult elders showed considerable variation according to their migratory histories: kao phi born in Ban Pong (36 women) had an average age of 53 years; those who had come to marry (4 women) - 63 years; those who had come as children (21 women) - 65 years; and those who had come after marriage (18 women) - 68 years.

factor in determining whether or not migrant women maintained links with their natal groups, set up their own cult group, or abandoned the phipunya altogether[1]. Although a few of the women from villages close to Ban Pong[2] had been incorporated into the groups of matrilateral kin already resident in the village, most of them continued to make the short journey back to their natal villages on ritual occasions. Women born in villages further from Ban Pong were more likely to either abandon the cult, or, in the case of already married women, to set up as kao phi themselves[3].

Almost 15% of women born in Ban Pong had their kao phi outside the village, in most cases in nearby villages, and a few in other districts in Chiengmai Province, or in Lamphun. The majority of these women were under 50, and many were the daughters of women born outside Ban Pong who had maintained strong links with a cult group in their natal village. In some cases these women, as well as some of the migrant women, engaged in a dual system of offerings, whereby ngan liang lek ('small' or 'minor' offering rituals) were performed by them in Ban Pong, whilst ngan liang yai ('big' or 'major' offering rituals) would require them to travel to the home of their kao phi to participate with all other members of their natal group.[4]

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[1] Or, as mentioned earlier (p.459), in a few cases in-marrying women were incorporated into the group of their mothers-in-law.

[2] The majority being in-marrying women.

[3] This tendency was also noted by Turton (1972:220).

[4] This would seem to provide a contrary case, albeit minimal, to the assertion made by Turton that:

> 'There are no nesting, hierarchical or segmentary structures, nor any superordinate genealogical structures.' (1972:225).

In sum, the overall proportion of women living in Ban Pong who still participated in a spirit cult was about 73%. This figure varied only slightly according to whether the woman had been born in Ban Pong or elsewhere (Table 65). As we have seen, the lowest level of participation in a cult was among those women who had come to Ban Pong to marry, but even in this case, the rate was almost 70%. Greater differences emerged according to the place of birth and the reason for coming to Ban Pong, when the focus of a woman's cult, and the likelikhood of her becoming a cult elder, were considered. As one might expect, 85% of women born in Ban Pong who participated in a cult, had their cult focus in the village, as compared to only 36% of participating women who had married into the village. The group which included the highest proportion of cult elders were those who had migrated after marriage, and the lowest were those born in Ban Pong, or those who had married in.

The direct and reciprocal relationship between these female-centred spirit cults and the preference for uxorilocal residence immediately following marriage, was discussed earlier (see pp.452-456). Given this relationship, one might expect therefore to find a strong correlation between participation in a cult and initial uxorilocality. The data for Ban Pong are presented in Table 66.

Table 66

(a) Participation in Cults by Post-Marital Residence: Ever-married Women, Ban Pong, 1973

(% by post-martial residence)

Residence	Participate	Do not participate
Uxorilocal	75.9%	24.1%
Virilocal	65.9	34.1
Neolocal	73.4	26.6

(b) Post-marital Residence by Participation in Cults: Ever-married Women, Ban Pong, 1973

(% by participation)

Participation	Uxorilocal	Virilocal	Neolocal
Participate	44.4%	18.2%	37.4%
Do not participate	38.1	25.4	36.6

Although indeed the figures presented in Table 66 show a slightly stronger relationship between cult participation and uxorilocal residence than either virilocal or neolocal residence, the differences are surprisingly small. The fact that less than 45% of all women who were involved in a phipunya cult had resided uxorilocally immediately following marriage was particularly unexpected. In fact, the distribution of cult participants according to their initial choice of post-marital residence, was almost identical to the distribution of residence patterns found among all women in the village (see Table 61(b), p.430). However, amongst non-participants, there was a slightly higher proportion of women who had resided virilocally following marriage, than would be expected[1]. Similarly, the proportion of all women who had resided virilocally following marriage who were also cult participants, was

[1] 19.8% of all women had resided virilocally following marriage, as compared to 25.4% of women who did not participate in a cult.

somewhat lower than for all women in the village. It would appear therefore that in the case of Ban Pong there is a much stronger negative correlation between cult participation and post-marital residence than the anticipated positive one. In other words, the tendency for women who have abandoned their phipunya to have also resided virilocally following marriage, is much stronger than for women who still participate in a cult to have resided uxorilocally. It is also worthy of note that 24% of women who had resided uxorilocally after marriage, had abandoned their phipunya[1].

Participation in cults by women who had resided virilocally show interesting variations when broken down by age. There is a steadily declining trend in the proportions participating in cults, with almost 50% of those in the youngest age group having abandoned their spirits. This can readily be explained by the changing factors which have led to the choice of virilocal residence over time, discussed earlier (see p.438). In the older age groups, the small number of women who had resided virilocally were almost all Yǫng, a group which has retained its cultural identity and traditional practices, and which participates much more actively in the cults than others in Ban Pong. Some of those in the younger age groups who had resided virilocally, on the other hand, were women who had married into the village who, as we have seen, were somewhat more likely to have abandoned their spirits. Other younger women residing virilocally, had married men from richer land-owning households which, as well as showing a preference for this type of residence, had also generally abandoned their spirits (see p. 461 above, and p.473 below). They also undoubtedly include women from families

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[1] Though it is not recorded whether the 'abandonment' had occurred before or after marriage.

in which economic necessity would appear to have taken precedence over traditional preferences, which may also be a factor in the loosening of cult ties. In sum, it would appear that in the case of Ban Pong, the substantial economic changes which have occurred in recent decades, have tended to undermine the strength of the relationship between residence patterns and participation in the domestic spirit cults.

Earlier I suggested that participation in the spirit cults might function as a developmental cycle in a way similar to that of domestic groups (see p. 463). A further factor in support of this assertion is the high rate of participation found among women living in uxorilocal extended households at the time of the survey. There were 43 such households in Ban Pong in 1973 in which the bride's mother was still living, and 16 in which the mother was deceased but the father was living. Of those households in which the mother was still living, 36 (84%) of the women were actively involved in a cult, as compared to only 50% in households where the mother was dead. Furthermore, almost half of these extended households whose female members were cult participants, and in which the mother was still alive, included a cult elder, either the mother herself, or her own mother living in the same (three or four generation) household. Since 50% of the 16 women living in uxorilocal extended households, whose mothers had died, had abandoned their spirits, and only three of those still participating had become cult elders in place of their mothers, it would seem that the presence of an active, and preferably co-resident member of the cult, is an important factor influencing participation by younger women.

9.9 Land, Labour and the Phipunya Cults in Ban Pong

As we have seen in Chapter 7, only 30% of households in Ban Pong owned irrigated rice fields at the time of my survey in 1974. Of these 140 land-owning households, 91 had some land which had been obtained through inheritance. In 41 of these cases (45%), the land had been inherited by the husband, in 47 cases (51.7%) by the wife, and in three cases (3.3%) land had been inherited by both husband and wife. Earlier I argued that by butressing the tendency for uxorilocal residence, the cults can be said to result indirectly in a bias towards daughters inheriting land rather than sons (see p.452 above). However, as Keyes has pointed out in relation to inheritance patterns within domestic groups in Northeast Thailand:

> 'Villagers commented that...(virilocal residence was)... contrary to custom, but they recognize the rights of the men to remain in their parental domestic groups after marriage in order to obtain sufficient landholdings...(and)...if the land is insufficient to support all members of a domestic group, early fissioning of the group is likely, or activitation of land rights through a man rather than a woman.' (1975:287, my emphasis)

The Ban Pong data on inheritance, with males and females almost equally represented amongst heirs, would indicate that such a process has been taking place in the community. However, since about 75% of all present-day inherited holdings in the village had been acquired since 1945 (see Chapter 7, Table 47), it is not possible to determine with any certainty how long this trend has been going on. Nevertheless, the enduring importance of the phipunya cults in cases where land holdings have remained in the hands of women, may be seen from the fact that 20 of the 50 households (40%) in which all or part of the land owned had been inherited by the wife, included a cult elder, as compared to only 7 of the 44 households (16%) with land inherited by the husband, and 47 of the 320 landless households (14.7%)[1].

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[1] The remaining 10 cult elders were from households which had bought all of their land (25.6% of 39 households). The 5 male elders were all from landless households.

Furthermore, with regard to the relationship suggested earlier, between residence patterns and labour, it should be noted that currently extended households in Ban Pong included proportionally twice as many landowning households (60%) as in the Village as a whole (30%). However, although the proportion of landowners in uxorilocally-extended households was higher (63%) than in virilocally-extended households (52%), the proportion of uxorilocally-extended, land-owning households whose female members still participated in a cult (70%) was lower than for virilocally-extended, land-owning households in which the mother-in-law and/or the daughter-in-law participated in a cult (83%). To a large extent this unexpected finding can be accounted for by the fact that the latter group included a large number of families of Yǫng origin, who, as well as having a stronger preference for virilocal residence than other households in the Village, also tend to make greater use of the reciprocal labour system than other land-owning (or tenant) households (see for example Chapter 7, p.328 footnote 2).

Rates of participation in the cults, and the distribution of the cult elders, also varied according to the area of irrigated land owned (see Table 67).

Table 67

Participation in Phipunya Cults by Ownership of Rice Fields

Land ownership status of household	Households in which members participate in a cult	Cult elder in Household
Landless (320)	73.8%	14.7%
Under 5 rai (60)	70.0	26.6
5-14 rai (55)	76.4	36.4
15 rai & over (25)	28.0	4.0

As noted earlier (p.461), the large majority (over 70%) of land-rich households had abandoned their spirits. I would suggest that this is a further factor in a wide-reaching and overt strategy adopted by these elite households, to enhance their status by differentiating themselves from the rest of the village community (see Chapter 7, p.308). As we have seen (p.448), in other parts of the North, wealthy landowning households have instead intensified their involvement in cults, with males generally taking over their organisation.

It was particularly surprising to find that the rate of participation in the cults by women in landless households was no lower than in other categories (Table 67)[1]. While some of these households may inherit small irrigated holdings in the future, this applies only to a very small minority of them (see Chapter 7, p.317), and does not therefore account for the situation. It should of course be remembered that the growth of landlessness is a comparatively recent phenomenon, and that there is likely to be a time-lag before an 'out-moded' structure is reformulated, particularly since in the case of spirit cults it includes associated functions, such as the legitimation of marriage[2].

However, another important and explicit function of the cults is the control of the inheritance of the parental home and houseplot (see p.456), which, as has been noted, ideally passes to the youngest daughter who has lived with her parents in their old age. The data for Ban Pong indicate

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[1] The lower proportion of cult elders in landless and landpoor (under 5 rai) households as compared to those with larger holdings (5-14 rai) reflects to some extent the variations in ages of members in such households.

[2] Furthermore, 31% of landless households had regular tenancy agreements, and in many cases were involved in reciprocal labour groups.

that in this context at least there has been little deviation from the traditional pattern. Of all cases where a parental home and houseplot had been inherited by an individual child (as opposed to being divided equally between a group of siblings or sold by the parents before their death), 77% had been inherited by a daughter. It might be concluded therefore that where landlessness has rendered a major function of the cults redundant, its other minor functions have continued to provide a framework for their persistence, albeit on a more subdued level than would once have been the case. I would suggest, however, that this situation is unlikely to endure for long, and that the rate of cult participation in Ban Pong is likely to continue to decline in years to come.

SUMMARY

The economic and demographic changes which have occurred in Ban Pong over recent decades, as well as the particular condition of the comparatively recent settlement of the community, have led to a substantial reformulation of basic elements of Northern Thai social structure. The traditional model is one of village exogamy and initial post-marital uxorilocal residence based on a concept of 'spirit-spacing' which does not permit women from different domestic spirit cult groups to live in the same household. These beliefs have generally resulted in a strongly matrilateral bias in the pattern of inheritance of irrigated rice fields, despite a nominally bilateral system.

The important element of residential continuity of the cult groups is reflected in the rule of inheritance, by the youngest married daughter, of the parental home and houseplot. The cults which serve to sanction and maintain these residential patterns have a number of explicit functions, namely the legitimation of marriage of group females, the settlement of disputes within the group, and the maintenance of the physical and mental health of its members. In addition I have suggested that a major function of the cults has been the control of labour, specifically that of affinal males, in order to maintain an adequate labour supply for the core of reciprocal labour groups. If this formulation is accepted, the other functions attributed to the cults, as well as other aspects such as the timing of the major calendrical ritual, are given added significance.

The Ban Pong data indicate that marriage and residence patterns, as well as the operation of domestic spirit cults, have undergone substantial changes, to such an extent that few of the traditional features remain. Longitudinal data on post-marital residence patterns indicate that from the early decades of its settlement, Ban Pong diverged significantly from more long-established communities, by a predominance of neolocality, a feature which I have attributed to the largely migrant nature of the population at that time.

At a later stage, as the Village became more settled, there were signs of a re-emergence of traditional patterns, as the rate of initial uxorilocality increased to almost 50%. However, this trend was short-lived as, in the decades following the Second World War, the economic pressures already existing in Ban Pong were intensified by its rapid

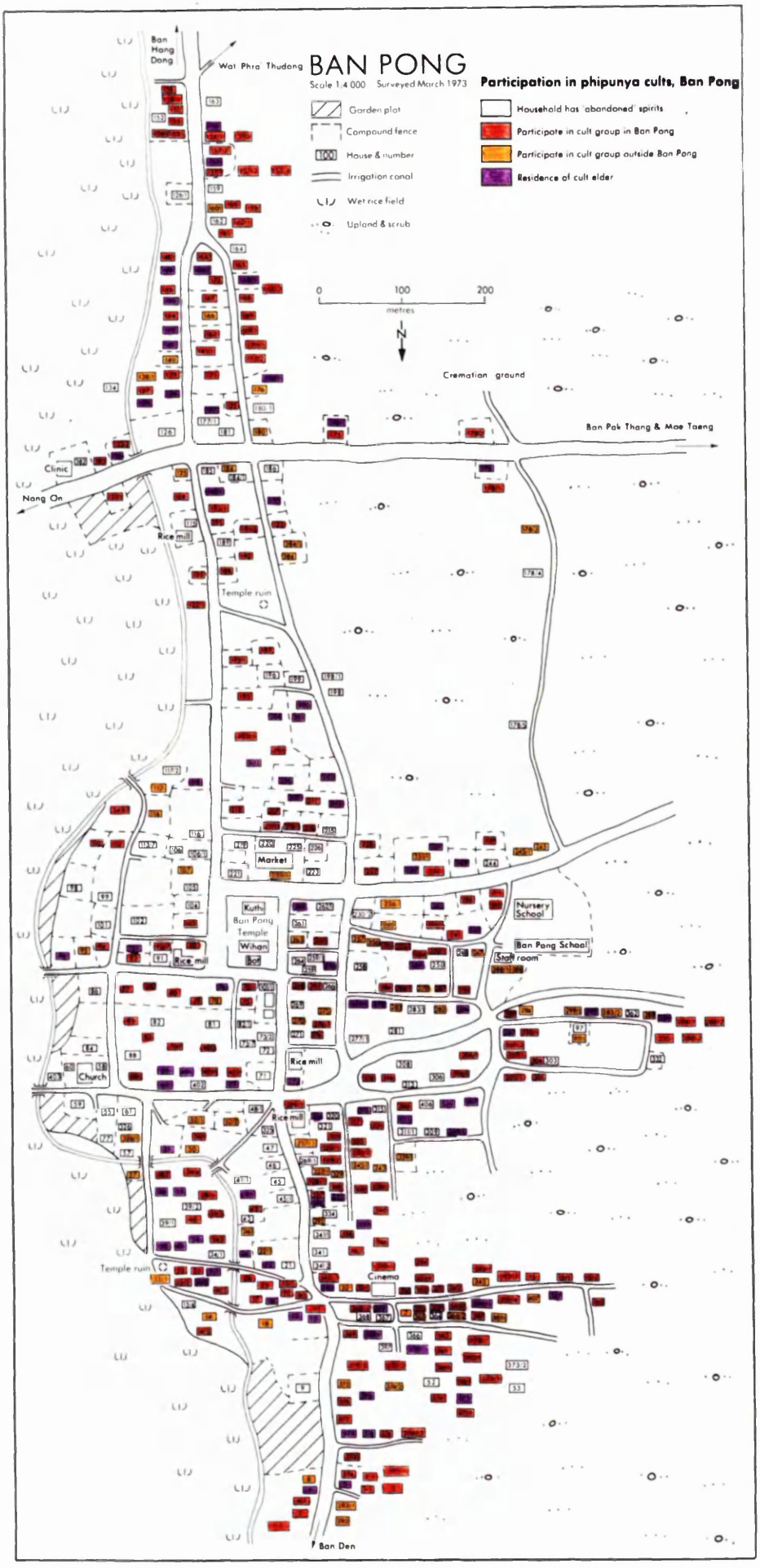
growth of population. The rise in landlessness, and the problems of severe competition for tenancies and wage labour, had become acute by the early 1970s. It would appear that traditional preferences soon began to give way to economic necessity for a significant section of the community, as the incidence of virilocality, previously insignificant, increased rapidly to almost equal the rate of initial uxorilocality.

With the traditional framework for their existence so rapidly and almost completely eroded, the domestic spirit cults in Ban Pong appear to be gradually dying out. Although retrospective data on the cults were not available, it seems likely, in view of the comparatively short history of the village (only a very small minority of present-day villagers being more than fourth generation settlers, and the majority being first or second), and the fact that the majority of older people had been migrants, that the large clans such as those described by Davis for Nan Province had never developed in Ban Pong. In any case, by the early 1970s, almost 30% of households in the Village had disassociated themselves entirely from cult activities. High socio-economic status was an important variable in such cases. Age and migratory history were also found to influence both the rate of participation in a cult, and the likelihood of a particular woman becoming a cult elder.

In a predominantly landless community such as Ban Pong, and in a context where the major source of agricultural labour is increasingly the daily wage worker instead of the reciprocal labour group, the important labour controlling function of the cults is clearly becoming redundant, while modern medical and judicial systems gradually eclipse their other functions. The residence patterns which once served to maintain the

continuity of the cult groups have undergone radical change as a result of economic pressures. The psychological impact of modernisation is gradually undermining the system of beliefs in which the phipunya cults are just one component, so that villagers are beginning to question the authority of the spirits.

The anthropological literature on Northern Thailand indicates considerable variability in these important aspects of social structure. Clearly the precise history of the interaction between economic and demographic changes, and their impact on social structure, will vary for each community. However, I would suggest that the patterns found in Ban Pong, albeit a more eroded form than in many other areas of contemporary Northern Thailand, will nevertheless be echoed throughout the Region in years to come.


BAN PONG
Scale 1:4 000 Surveyed March 1973
Participation in phipunya cults, Ban Pong
Garden plot
Compound fence
House & number
Irrigation canal
Wet rice field
Upland & scrub
Household has 'abandoned' spirits
Participate in cult group in Ban Pong
Participate in cult group outside Ban Pong
Residence of cult elder
0 100 200
metres
N
Ban Hang Dong
Wat Phra Thudong
Cremation ground
Ban Pak Thang & Moe Taeng
Clinic
Nang On
Rice mill
Temple ruin
Market
Kuthi
Ban Pong
Temple
Wihan
Bot
Nursery School
Ban Pong School
Staff room
Church
Cinema
Ban Den

MAP 16

Participation in Phipunya Cults, Ban Pong

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS

During the one hundred years which have elapsed since the initial planned settlement of Ban Pong Village in the early 1880s, the community has experienced considerable change. One of the major aims of this thesis has been to trace the causes and consequences of these changes, and to demonstrate the way in which the various constituents have influenced, and been influenced by each other. By presenting evidence of the complex interaction between changing demographic, economic and social factors, this approach has highlighted the inadequacy of analysis which isolates just one of the variables as independent.

Another important aim of the thesis has been to show the value of incorporating demographic data in the anthropological study of socio-economic change. It is hoped that the presentation of a detailed account of population change in the community, and the illustration of causal links between such factors and contemporary socio-economic change, have adequately demonstrated the considerable insights into the mechanisms of change to be gained by this approach.

In an attempt to summarise the main findings of the thesis, it is appropriate first to recall Wrigley's comments, referred to in the Introduction. He warns that while the analysis of demographic factors is of unquestionable value in the study of socio-economic change, the complexity of the relationships between these major variables inevitably presents considerable problems for their clear exposition. It has been necessary therefore to analyse patterns of change in each variable

separately, identifying the major correlates of such changes, whilst attempting to link them with changes occurring in other areas during the same period of time.

During the first half century following the settlement of Ban Pong Village, new land was still available for clearance, while the population was growing steadily, mainly as a result of continuing in-migration from more densely-populated areas further south, near to the provincial capital. The land in the Valley was gradually cleared as new settlers laid claim to medium-sized plots which were adequate for subsistence needs and to provide a small surplus. The offspring of the first settlers were able to increase their inheritances by clearing or purchasing additional land in order to create holdings which were adequate for their needs.

However, the stream of in-migrants continued, and by the first or second decade of this century, most of the land in the Valley had been laid claim to and cleared. Subsequently, when land was sub-divided, on the basis of the traditional bilateral system of inheritance, many heirs found that they were unable to obtain additional land, and were forced to cultivate increasingly small and uneconomic holdings. The adverse economic conditions which prevailed during the Recession, and later the Depression followed by the Second World War, are likely to have affected most severely those peasants who were, at that time, on the boundaries of the rapidly expanding cash economy. As a result, many smallholders got seriously into debt and were forced to sell their land.

Meanwhile a small number of new migrants, who had moved to Ban Pong from more long-settled and commercialised districts in Chiengmai Province, during the 1910s and 1920s, were quick to recognise the potential profits to be made from the production of, and trade in fermented tea. The population in the area, still increasing steadily as migrants continued to move in, provided a growing market for the product. During the following years these entrepreneurs were able to accumulate large holdings of irrigated land in the Valley, on the basis of wealth gained from their involvement in the fermented tea industry. Thus it can be seen that the conditions leading to the acute maldistribution of land found in present-day Ban Pong had emerged some time before rapid growth of population began to exert pressure on resources in the Valley.

During the 1940s mortality rates rose steeply, particularly among infants and young children, as food shortages and epidemics of infectious diseases, exacerbated by unstable conditions during the Japanese Occupation, began to take their toll. By the end of the decade however, the rapid dissemination of modern medical technology into the rural areas contributed to a precipitous decline in death rates and, with fertility rates increasing to a peak during the 1950s, Ban Pong experienced an unprecendented rate of population growth.

At this point it is appropriate to examine population pressure in Ban Pong in terms of the approach suggested by Grigg, which was summarised in the Introduction to this thesis. As we have seen, some of the 'symptoms' of overpopulation, suggested by Grigg, notably sub-division and fragmentation of land, had already appeared in Ban Pong some time before

its population began to grow rapidly. However, the greatly increased demand for land in the area, since the end of the 1940s, has led to escalating land prices, and tenancy arrangements which have been increasingly disadvantageous to the tenant. As a result of the rapid expansion of landless labourers in the community, wages have been maintained at a low level, while rice prices have continued to rise, thus making the position of poor villagers increasingly untenable. Meanwhile the wealthy land-owning minority have been able to further strengthen their elite position.

The population of Ban Pong has responded to these deteriorating conditions in a number of ways. In the absence of any additional irrigable land, many poor peasants have begun to clear the upland scrub above the Valley, in an attempt to produce crops to satisfy some of their subsistence needs. However, productivity of such marginal lands is extremely low, and they require a very much greater input of labour in relation to output, than in the cultivation of irrigated fields. Furthermore, clearance of the upland has interfered with the natural drainage of the area, and has contributed to severe flooding in the Valley. The traditional irrigation system operating in Ban Pong Valley is inadequate for large-scale dry season cultivation, and so only a small proportion of lowland fields can be double cropped. Furthermore, because of the high unit costs of fertilizer, its use is limited to the minority of farmers able to cultivate dry season cash crops. Finally, for many of the landpoor and tenant farmers, the costs of maintaining the traditional reciprocal labour groups have become impossibly high, thus procluding the option of increasing yields by a greater input of labour.

It is clear then, that even for those farmers in Ban Pong who own or rent land, there is little scope for alleviating population pressure by increasing productivity. In such circumstances it is not surprising that the population of Ban Pong has responded by means of demographic controls. By the late 1950s, fertility rates began to fall, as women in the community resorted to traditional methods of abortion in order to limit their family size. A little later, within a year or two of the introduction of a family planning programme to Ban Pong, the majority of eligible women had begun to use modern contraceptive methods. Continuation rates have been high, and as a result fertility rates have fallen very rapidly.

The rate of out-migration has also increased greatly in recent years, and is higher in Ban Pong than in other villages in the area. Three main streams of movement may be identified. The first is to sparsely populated districts to the north, where migrants are still able to find new lands to clear. However, such movement is severely limited by the political instability of this area. The second migration stream from Ban Pong is to the hills to the northwest of the Valley, where miang, wild tea, is produced. However, this type of movement is also limited by the monopolistic practices of traders, owners and tenants involved in the industry. The third important destination of migrants from Ban Pong is the urban areas of Chiengmai and Bangkok. While a minority of such migrants are the children of wealthy villagers, who have moved to the city to continue their education or to work as traders or in civil service posts, the majority are from the poorest village households who, unable to find adequate employment locally, have been forced to leave the Village, and to compete for poorly paid labouring work in the cities, or to engage in prostitution.

Finally, marriage and residence patterns in Ban Pong have changed considerably, as the relationship between land and labour has gradually been reversed, while the domestic spirit cults, which served to maintain traditional patterns of initial uxorilocal residence following marriage, are breaking down as their major functions are irrevocably eroded. What then are the future prospects for the people of Ban Pong?

Despite exceptionally high levels of contraceptive practice among Village women, and large-scale out-migration of the young, the age structure of Ban Pong's population still has a considerable potential for growth. Although the period of rapid growth of population lasted for no more than ten years, from the late 1940s to the late 1950s, the number of children born at that time, who survived to adulthood, was so great that in 1973 they represented about one third of the entire population of the Village. In the 1980s they will all have reached marriageable age. Unless there is a sudden and substantial change in marriage patterns, even the continuation of high rates of contraceptive practice is unlikely to prevent a further large increase in natural growth rates in the community during the next two or three decades.

However, one important technological change has been taking place in Ban Pong Valley since the completion of my fieldwork. The construction of a large modern dam across the River Ngat is currently in progress and is due for completion in 1982. The system is planned to provide year-round irrigation in the Valley which will not only facilitate greatly increased productivity, but will also provide much needed employment for the growing population of landless labourers. Further research will indicate whether or not this significant change will have a substantial effect on improving living standards generally for the population of Ban Pong Valley.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Fertility Questionnaire

Date ..... Woman's Name .....

House Number .....

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1. Have you ever been pregnant?

   - NO (Continue with Question 13)
   - YES (Ask details about each pregnancy and record in the table below)

Pregnancy number	Child of husband number	Animal year of birth or B.E.[1]	Sex	Living Children			Dead Children		Pregnancy Wastage			Place of birth	Cost of delivery	No. days yu kam[2]
				Age	Current Residence	Education	Age at death	Cause of Death	Stillbirth	Miscarriage	Abortion			

2. (When you have asked all the details above, ask the woman her total number of pregnancies, to ensure completeness in Question 1. If there are any discrepancies, correct them by further questioning. If there are twins (or triplets), put a circle around the pregnancy numbers in Question 1).

Total number of pregnancies .....

3a. (Examine the answers to Question 1 carefully, to see if there are any pregnancies which occurred more than three years apart. For each such interval, ask the woman if she or her husband had been using a method of contraception, or if they had been separated for some time, or if one or other of them had had a prolong illness, etc., which would account for the gap between pregnancies. In the space below, write down the reasons, if any, for each gap between pregnancies.)

.....

3b. (Ask the woman if she has been married more than once. If so, write down the following details for each marriage, including the current one).

Marriage No.	Wife's Age at Start of Marriage	Divorced or widowed	Wife's Age at End of Marriage

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[1] BE = Buddhist Era year.

[2] yu kam = period of post-partum seclusion (see Mougne 1978).

APPENDIX 2

Ages by Animal Year of Birth, and Buddhist Era Date, for 1973 (2516)

1. pi chuad (mouse)	2419 97	2431 85	2443 73	2455 61	2467 49	2479 37	2491 25	2503 13	2515 1
2. pi chalu (cow)	2420 96	2432 84	2444 72	2456 60	2468 48	2480 36	2492 24	2504 12	2516 0
3. pi khan (tiger)	2421 95	2433 83	2445 71	2457 59	2469 47	2481 35	2493 23	2505 11	
4. pi thǫ' (rabbit)	2422 94	2434 82	2446 70	2458 58	2470 46	2482 34	2494 22	2506 10	
5. pi ma'rong (big snake)	2423 93	2435 81	2447 69	2459 57	2471 45	2483 33	2495 21	2507 9	
6. pi ma'seng (little snake)	2424 92	2436 80	2448 68	2460 56	2472 44	2484 32	2496 20	2508 8	
7. pi ma'mia (horse)	2425 91	2437 79	2449 67	2461 55	2473 43	2485 31	2497 19	2509 7	
8. pi ma'mae (goat)	2426 90	2438 78	2450 66	2462 54	2474 42	2486 30	2498 18	2510 6	
9. pi wǫk (monkey)	2427 89	2439 77	2451 65	2463 53	2475 41	2487 29	2499 17	2511 5	
10. pi ra'ku (chicken)	2428 88	2440 76	2452 64	2464 52	2476 40	2488 28	2500 16	2512 4	
11. pi cǫ (dog)	2429 87	2441 75	2453 63	2465 51	2477 39	2489 27	2501 15	2513 3	
12. pi kun (pig/ elephant)	2430 86	2442 74	2454 62	2466 50	2478 38	2490 26	2502 14	2514 2	

APPENDIX 3

Interview with Mǫ Kaeo, mǫ phi (spirit doctor) in Ban Pong[1] concerning deaths of women during pregnancy and childbirth.
August 1973

(MK = Mǫ Kaeo, A = Anthropologist)

MK: 'A woman dying during pregnancy becomes a phi tai klom - it is a joint death, a circular death. It is in fact the fiercest type of phrai[2] spirit, very powerful and dangerous. It can cause great havoc. Usually the baby dies first and then (its spirit) returns to take refuge (asai yu) in its mother, drawing her with it (to her death). It is extremely dangerous, it can make people lose a lot of money. In order to expel the spirits of the mother and the baby, the link between them must be severed (tǫng tat man). You must expel the spirits separately, which means pulling them apart by removing the baby from the mother's womb...When there is a case like this where the baby has died (in the womb) and the mother has died too, they have to seek the help of a mǫ (doctor) and he must perform a great number of rituals involving all sorts of equipment (upakǫn khru'ang), with many offering bowls (khan tang), different types for each part of the ritual from when the corpse is first brought (to the cremation ground) until her belly has been cut open and the baby has been removed from her womb.'

Other woman: 'The last time (the ritual was performed) was for a woman in Ban Den Village, the daughter of old Mae Yu'n. It was before you (i.e. the anthropologist) came to the village, about two years ago. If you had been here you could have seen everything that happened. If you could have seen the ritual - oh ho! The cremation ground was packed with people who had come to watch. My children were terrified the whole time! '

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[1] The interview was conducted primarily in Central Thai, though in a few instances the terms used by mǫ Kaeo cannot be rendered by the standard Central Thai translation as they are coloured by his everyday use of Northern Thai.

[2] The spirit of a woman dying during or after childbirth.

MK: 'If someone is coming to fetch me, on account of a woman who has died (in this way) - even if I haven't heard about it yet, I will find out during the night. For example, that woman who died in Ban Den, she died in the middle of the night so I didn't know yet that her family were going to come to ask for my help. At the time I was fast asleep. Before going to bed I had made offerings of candles and incense to my teacher spirits (khru ba acan)[1] as I always do each night. After falling asleep I began to dream.[2] I dreamt that I had left my house and discovered a small cloth bag belongingto my friend which had fallen on the ground. It was the type of bag used for storing precious objects (thung kru phra'). When I opened it to see what was inside I found a Buddha image. It gave me such a fright that I woke up suddenly.[3] I thought to myself, maybe it means that I will find a winning lottery number. But no, I was wrong! The next day they came, two of them. I asked myself, why have they come? They told me that the following day the woman would be taken to the cremation ground for the ritual of opening the womb (phiti pha thǫng). The woman, Ii[4] Bang, had died during the night. I told them that I was too old to do it, that I didn't want to do it, that I had given up that sort of work. They begged me to help, and kept on insisting, so I told them to go away and try to find someone else to do it for them. They went off to look but came back later saying that there was noone else who could help. They told me that if I didn't do it then noone would, so I had to agree.'

A: 'Did you perform the ritual alone, or did you have others to help you?'

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[1] For a detailed account of the relationship between spirit doctors and their teacher spirits, see Irvine (n.d. Chapter 4).

[2] Communication through dreams is one way in which the ideology conceptualises the help given to the spirit doctor by his teacher spirits and usually occurs at times when a particularly difficult situation has arisen (Irvine, personal communication).

[3] Mǫ Kaeo was startled because dreaming about a Buddha image can mean either extraordinarily good - or bad - luck.

[4] The prefix Ii is used in Northern Thai as a familiar form of address towards females. The male equivalent is 'ai. The terms are not used in a derogatory manner as in the Central Thai usage.

MK: 'I had four assistants (luk nong). I did it together with these four. You see, whenever you perform a ritual like this, of cutting open the womb, there must also be a special ritual to drive away (khap lai) the spirit in order to protect those involved. Then there is the sickle (khiao) which has to be made very sharp. The sickle is to be used for the cutting. Once the corpse has been brought and laid down, we can start the ritual. As soon as the people realise that we are about to begin they move away a bit. First I prepare the sacrilised water (nam mon) by blowing on a magic spell, and I sprinkle this around. Once I've done this I then scatter the area with milled rice[1]. Then I let it be known that the ritual is beginning and I start by chanting the sacred Pali prayer "na mo" three times. After this I tell my assistants that all is ready for the cutting (sap)[2]. It cannot begin until I have said the "na mo" prayer three times. Everything must be done in correct sequence. I then sprinkle some more sacrilised water, and pronounce the magic words "wa' ka' kat"[3]. As soon as I have said "wa'" then I say "ka'" and then "kat", at which point the sickle is swung down with great force. As it comes down - bop! - the belly splits open so you can pull the baby out. In the case of Ii Bang, we looked inside the womb and could see nothing but blood, just a big mass of blood, with no fetus at all.'

A: 'Perhaps she was only a few months pregnant then?'

MK: 'Well there was a form, but I don't think it could have been human. It was just a large mass, very soft and sloppy. It was impossible even to tell if it was male or female. Goodness me! It was like nothing I had ever seen before, a mass of blood clots, like a big pile of eggs.[4]

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[1] Milled rice is said to cause acute burning to spirits.

[2] sap implies a particularly forceful movement. McFarland writes: 'to hack, chop, hash, slash, or mince (by repeated strokes of a knife).' (1960:85).

[3] wa' (to raise the arm above the head) - ka' (to take aim) - kat (to bite into).

[4] The condition described here is probably that of a hydatidaform mole, which results from failure of the blastocyst to differentiate its component cells in the days following conception. Cell separation continues relentlessly and if undetected the condition is invariably fatal (Professor P. Huntingford, formerly Prof. of Obstetrics and Gynaecology of The London Hospital, personal communication.)

The womb was full of eggs. The crowd didn't dare come up close, they moved back when they heard about it. They just stayed well away, staring. There was such a huge crowd that day, the cremation ground was full of people who had come to watch the ritual. I reached inside the womb and took everything out to have a look, but there was no baby. Just a lot of blood, with fluid inside the lumps. A spirit had destroyed it (thuk phi sia kon). '

A: 'What sort of spirit was this?'

MK: 'It was the spirit of the swamp across the valley. The woman had gone to attend her gardens over by the side of the swamp. She was overcome by the spirit and began to get a headache. For two days she had the headache and then she died.'

A: 'Have you performed this ritual many times?'

MK: 'The cutting open of the womb? Oh yes, more than ten times. I've helped a lot of people. If the phrai spirit is stronger than my own magical power (si prakun)[1] then the spirit may take me unawares before I have summoned up enough power to overcome it. The first blow of the sickle bounces off, it won't cut through. The second blow bounces off again. If this happens I have to find a way of frightening the spirit until (the sickle) goes in (tong khum con long). If the sickle just won't cut through we have to use a gun to shoot through the woman's forehead, to overcome (the spirit) with the shot. Supposing that after shooting the gun the sickle still won't cut through, then we have to take a nail and hammer it into her forehead, and just keep on hammering until the spirit is defeated. We need a great deal of courage to do this, and once we are successful we must prepare an offering tray to present to the teacher spirits. We must tell them what has happened and repeat the offering the following day. We believe that in this way the power of the teacher spirits is strengthened. They must always be given offerings. It's like that. When I have said "wa' ka' kat" and

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[1] This term is used for the power of medicine, but implies beneficient moral power (Irvine, personal communication).

the blow of the sickle has opened the belly, you can see everything, the womb, the intestines, the stomach. Then I pull the baby out. To do all this I have to brace myself strongly against the spirit (cai kheng)[1]. You see, if the mother and baby die,in the old days we called it tai klom. It is an impure death (tai mai borisut), rather like people who died had deaths (phi tai hong). Tai hong is dangerous, tai klom is dangerous. The klom spirit is very powerful. This type of spirit attacks (rawi), and invades healthy people who have done no wrong. It's rather like the carrier of a disease (chu'a rok). It must be cut out and got rid of. The power to destroy the spirit comes from the sacred power of Buddhism (khun phra'). Without this we have no way of detecting the spirit, there is no way we can destroy it. But the sacred power can shield us from harm (khum khrong dai), the sacred power is always successful (pen sing sak sit).'

A: 'Do the (Buddhist) monks have anything to do with the ritual?'

MK: 'Yes, they first give prayer to exorcise the house (of the dead woman), and later they pray for the woman. But the monks must not come in (inside the circle of sacred thread surrounding the ritual area). They must stay outside until the cutting has been done and the time has arrived for them to pray.'

A: 'When you perform this ritual, why do you use the sacred thread?'

MK: 'The sacred thread (sai sin) contains the sacred power (of Buddhism) which is needed to defeat (sakut) the power of the spirit. The spirit is defeated by the sacred thread, by the sacrilised water, by the milled rice, the gun, the nails, oh, by many things. If on the first blow the sickle does not find its mark then the gun is used to overcome the spirit. It is placed over the woman's forehead and magic words are spoken. If after shooting the gun, the sickle still won't cut through, then a spell is blown onto the nail and it is hammered into her forehead.

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[1] This is achieved by adopting the attitude of mind which characterises meditation and through which a doctor of magic communicates with and is reached by the teacher spirits (Irvine, personal communication).

If this doesn't work the first time you just have to try again and again until the sickle bursts through and opens up the belly. But if it just won't go in then we increase the offerings to the spirit teachers so that we are then in a better position to challenge the spirit with greater force. It's as if the mǫ is being put to the test. If after slashing with the greatest strength the sickle still doesn't cut through, then we increase the offerings. If we had offered 200 baht then we increase it to 400; if we have offered 4 bottles of alcohol, we increase it to 8. We just persist until it cuts through. In the end we always succeed[1]. The sickle has to cut through. But when it won't cut through the belly is just like the surface of a drum. When it is like this I am the only one who can do it, only me. There are no other mǫ who can do it. However much money you offer them, they will not do it. They can't do it, they don't know what order to do things in (mai mi cangwa'). If a mǫ does it incorrectly the spirit will enter him and cause havoc. So you have to be sure of being able to conquer the spirit. If you have the formula, then you are bound to succeed.'

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[1] Professor Peter Huntingford suggested to me that in many cases of deaths during pregnancy, the womb would have ruptured and thus a single blow from a sharp sickle would cut through the stomach wall quite easily. Occasionally, however, the uterus would be intact, and its strong musculature would be extremely hard to penetrate, hence the rare cases described by Mǫ Kaeo where the belly can only be cut open following a succession of very forceful blows.

APPENDIX 4

Changing Patterns of Age at Marriage in Ban Pong

Variations in age at first marriage have been found to be associated with changing economic conditions (see, for example, Coale, 1967). Coale has suggested that:

> 'nuptuality control was the clearest response to changing economic conditions before and during the early stages of the demographic transition,' (ibid.).

'Nuptuality control' generally refers not only to changes in age at marriage, but also to the proportion in each age group remaining single. The change in age at marriage of females, and the proportion of women remaining single, are generally considered to be of greater significance than the equivalent variables for men, since they are more likely to have a direct effect on fertility levels. Nevertheless the same factors applied to men may also reveal fluctuations which are significant indicators of economic change.

The mean age at first marriage for women in Ban Pong has remained remarkably stable over the past fifty years (Table 68), though there appears to have been a fall in mean age for women now aged under 35. Mean ages at first marriage for men in Ban Pong, on the other hand, show much greater variability in age groups over 35, and the falling mean age for males under 35 has been much steeper than for women.

Table 68

Mean Age at First Marriage, Ever-married Men and Women, Ban Pong, 1973
(in years)

Age Group	Males	Females
15-19	17.6	16.8
20-24	19.6	18.7
25-29	22.5	19.4
30-34	22.7	19.9
35-39	24.3	20.9
40-44	23.8	20.9
45-49	23.5	20.9
50-54	25.9	20.4
55-59	23.9	19.5
60-64	25.6	20.8
65-69	22.7	20.9
70 plus	24.8	19.3

When the proportions marrying are analysed for each age group (Table 69) it becomes apparent that the fall in mean age at first marriage for men and women in the younger age groups is in fact misleading, since a high proportion of them were still unmarried at the time of the survey.

Table 69

Proportions Ever-married, Ban Pong, 1973
(per 1000)

Age group	Males	Females
15-19	20	80 [1]
20-24	210	575 [1]
25-29	655	915
30-34	815	965
35-39	860	930
40-44	955	960
45-49	980	925
50-54	970	940
55-59	970	1000
60-64	960	1000
65-69	1000	1000
70 plus	1000	1000

[1] In 1960, 12.5% of Thai women aged 15-19, and 56.2% of women aged 20-24 were married (Cho and Rutherford, 1973).

It is therefore very likely that the eventual mean ages at first marriage for these cohorts will be higher. Wrigley (1969:227) has pointed out that there is a tendency for age at first marriage to vary inversely with the proportions ever married in a population. In other words, the sort of economic conditions which might lead to an increase in age at marriage are also likely to lead to a reduction in the proportion of individuals marrying (or the reverse). Comparison of Tables 68 and 69 indicate a possible correlation in line with Wrigley's proposal most notably for males in the 35-39 age group and, to a lesser extent, for men aged under 35. Although the mean ages at marriage for men now under 35 is at present comparatively low, the fact that 20% of those aged 30-34, and 35% of those aged 25-29 were still unmarried at the time of the survey, would suggest, as I have already pointed out, that their eventual mean age at marriage will be considerably higher than at present, unless an unprecedentedly high proportion of these men remains unmarried throughout their lives. The mean age at marriage for women in the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups, however, is unlikely to rise significantly in the future since less than 10% of these women were still single in 1973.

The mean age at marriage is a rather gross measurement, and can often disguise significant variations within age groups over time. Furthermore, the proportions ever-married in each age group makes comparison between age groups rather difficult since the younger age groups, as we have seen, will inevitably include individuals who will eventually marry. Thus these figures can only really be internally comparable after a certain point, that is from the age at which those remaining single are no longer expected to marry. Another, perhaps more illuminating way of analysing changing age at marriage is to calculate the proportion of each age group marrying at particular ages. Thus by looking at cumulative age at marriage, one can gain a clearer picture of changing patterns over time (Table 70).

Table 70

Cumulative Age at First Marriage, Ban Pong, 1973
(% of age group)

(a) MALES

Current Age	Age at first marriage 14-16	17-19	20-22	23-25	26-28	29-31	32+
15-19	(0)[1]	(2.0)	-	-	-	-	-
20-24	1.2	8.5	(20.7)	-	-	-	-
25-29	0	5.2	34.5	(60.4)	(65.6)	-	-
30-34	1.6	9.4	42.2	62.5	75.0	(79.7)	(81.3)
35-39	0	11.1	34.9	52.4	69.9	81.0	85.8
40-44	0	6.2	48.4	68.7	84.3	93.7	95.3
45-49	0	9.8	45.1	74.5	84.3	94.1	98.0
50-54	0	3.2	19.3	61.2	74.1	87.0	96.7
55-59	0	11.8	41.2	70.6	76.5	91.2	97.1
60-64	0	4.0	28.0	52.0	80.0	84.0	96.0
65-69	0	23.5	52.9	64.8	70.6	82.4	100.0
70 plus	0	8.3	54.1	70.7	87.3	95.6	100.0

(b) FEMALES

Current Age	Age at first marriage 14-16	17-19	20-22	23-25	26-28	29-31	32+
15-19	(3.1)	(8.1)	-	-	-	-	-
20-24	6.7	33.3	(54.6)	(57.3)	-	-	-
25-29	8.7	50.0	87.0	89.2	(89.2)	(91.3)	-
30-34	8.5	45.8	81.4	93.2	96.6	96.6	(96.6)
35-39	3.5	33.3	68.4	85.9	89.4	92.9	92.9
40-44	1.4	37.5	73.6	84.7	88.9	93.1	95.9
45-49	1.8	33.3	70.3	87.0	87.0	92.6	92.6
50-54	9.6	46.1	73.1	86.6	90.4	94.2	94.2
55-59	20.0	60.0	85.0	95.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
60-64	20.0	55.0	75.0	90.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
65-69	5.9	29.4	70.6	82.2	100.0	100.0	100.0
70 plus	11.5	53.8	96.1	96.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1] Percentages in parentheses indicate age groups in which not all individuals have reached the upper limit of a particular age at marriage. The figures may therefore be expected to rise at a later date. Since it is quite unusual for a man or a woman to marry after age 40, the proportion married by age 32 may be assumed to be very close to the final figure.

The cumulative age at marriage for men and women in Ban Pong reveals considerable variations in the proportions married at particular ages over time. In the case of males, there is evidence of postponement of marriage in age groups 60-64, 50-54, 35-39 and 25-29, while all the other age groups follow a more or less standard pattern with at least 40% married by age 22, and at least 60% married by age 25. However, the fact that almost 14% of men aged 35-39, and 19% of men aged 30-34 were still unmarried at the time of the survey is strongly suggestive of quite considerable postponement (or non-) marriage among men in recent years. The economic characteristics of these unmarried men are examined later in this Appendix. The proportion of females marrying at particular ages shows considerably less variation than for males. Nevertheless, two distinct patterns emerge; women aged between 35 and 49 (and to a lesser extent, those aged 50-54) were marrying considerably later than women in all other age groups, while younger women, aged between 25 and 35, follow a very similar pattern to that found among women over 55. It is of course too soon to determine whether or not women under 25 years will continue to follow this trend.

So far, the changing patterns in age at marriage of men and women in Ban Pong have been analysed independently, as if they were two separate populations. None of the measures so far discussed permits comparison between the sexes. Wrigley (1969:158) has suggested relating age at marriage to the sex ratio for each age group, since a gross imbalance in the number of marriageable aged men and women, either as a result of selective mortality or migration, could influence marriage patterns. The sex ratio for age groups in Ban Pong is discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 2, Table 11, p.109 and Chapter 4, Table 36, p.201). Although the ratio for the whole village population is more or less balanced, there are considerable variations within 5 year age groups (see Figure 8), ranging from an exceptionally high 158 in the age group 55-59 (i.e. a 37% excess of males), to a very low 64 in the 50-54 age group (i.e. a 36% deficit of males)[1]. It would seem likely therefore that such large differences might have exerted considerable influence on marriage patterns.

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[1] Some of this discrepancy could be the result of mis-reporting of ages but this is unlikely to account for such substantial differences in ratio.

Indeed, women in the 55-59 year age group, who are very much less numerous than males of the same age, married on average 0.9 years earlier than women aged 50-54 whose numbers greatly exceed those of men of the same age. However, although Wrigley stresses that an unbalanced sex ratio generally has more influence on female age at marriage than on that of males (1969:160), it seems surprising that males aged 55-59, despite an exceptionally high sex ratio for that age group, married on average 2 years earlier than males aged 50-54 with their exceptionally low sex ratio.

It is evident then that variations in the sex ratio do not fully explain the fluctuations in age at marriage for men in Ban Pong. However, implicit in the proposition that variations in the sex ratio can influence age at marriage, is the assumption that given a balanced sex ratio men would normally marry women of a similar age. Thus, if men in a particular age group diverge from the normal pattern of a population by marrying women considerably younger (or older) than themselves, one might expect this to be the result of an imbalance in the sex ratio in that age group. In other words, if men out-number women of the same age, they would be forced to marry women either younger, or older than themselves.

However, given that mean age at first marriage for women in Ban Pong has been comparatively stable over time, if fluctuations in the age at marriage for men cannot be explained by differences in the sex ratio, I would suggest that other factors, such as landlessness, unemployment and other economic pressures may have forced some men to postpone marriage at particular points in time. In order to test this assertion, the current age of women in extant first marriages was compared to the age of their husbands to see if there have been significant changes in the relative age of spouses over time. Men aged between 4 years younger to 4 years older than their wives have been counted as being in the same age group (see Table 71).

Table 71

Relative Age of Husband by Current Age of Wife, Extant First Marriages, Ban Pong, 1973[1]
(% married women in age group)

Current Age of Wife	Relative Age of Husband -5/9	-4/+4	+5/9	+10/more
20-24 (28)	0	67.9	28.6	3.5
25-29 (32)	0	71.9	18.7	9.4
30-34 (41)	0	63.4	22.0	14.6
35-39 (33)	3.0	75.8	18.2	3.0
40-44 (37)	5.4	75.7	18.9	0
45-49 (28)	3.6	75.0	14.3	7.1
50-54 (19)	0	47.4	47.4	5.2
55-59 (12)	0	50.0	33.3	16.7

Three distinct groups emerge: the first includes women aged 50 and over of whom only about 50% had married men in the same age group, the remainder having married men 5 or more years older, and in some cases 10 or more years older. The second group, comprising women aged between 35 and 49 includes a much higher proportion who had married men of the same age group; few of these women had married men more than 10 years older, and some had married men more than five years younger[2]. In the third group of women, aged less than 35, a smaller proportion had married men of the same age group, none had married men more than 4 years their junior, and a considerable number had married men more than ten years their senior.

These three patterns found in the relative ages of spouses can perhaps best be summarised by incorporating the data presented earlier on changing age at marriage. It would appear that prior to about 1940, many men had remained unmarried until their late twenties, and about half of them had married women more than five years their junior. It is possible that this represents a traditional pattern which had

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[1] Women aged 20 and under and over 60 have been excluded since numbers are too small to permit analysis.

[2] The cases mentioned in Chapter 9, of women marrying men more than 12 years their junior (p.417, footnote 2), were all second or subsequent marriages.

prevailed prior to the radical demographic and economic changes occurring since 1940. The pattern changed greatly for those marrying after 1940 and through to the late 1950s. Although women were marrying on average a little later than before, the majority of them were marrying men of a similar age, and in a few cases considerably younger, in other words, some men were marrying at an earlier age than before. Only about 20% of women at this time had married men 5 or more years older. After the late 1950s, the pattern changed again. Women began to marry a little younger, while many men again postponed marriage till their late 20s or early 30s. In many cases this has resulted in women marrying men considerably older than themselves. The possible economic implications of changing age at marriage have been discussed in Chapter 9 (section 9.4).

Although it is not possible to isolate with any certainty the precise factors leading to such changes, some insight might be gained by a more detailed investigation of men and women remaining single after an age when the majority of their peers had married. Twenty women aged 25 and over, and 27 men aged 30 and over had never been married by the time of the survey in March 1973. Two of the women, and two of the men married later that year, and it is likely that some of the others will also marry eventually. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see if there are any consistent variables which might explain the atypical behaviour of these individuals with regards to marriage.

Four of the women were sisters, living in the same household, whose ages ranged from 26 to 40. Two of the sisters were mentally retarded and were cared for by the other two. Another unmarried woman was a 45-year old deaf mute, living with her retarded younger brother (see Chapter 2, p.92). Another was the 37-year old daughter of Phǫ Nan Srithǫn, one of the biggest landlords in the village (see Chapter 7, Case 3). Clearly her physical deformity (she was crippled from childhood polio) had outweighed her potential wealth in making her a desirable marriage partner. Another unmarried woman in Ban Pong was Phi Seng In, a Christian woman who was also a major landowner in the Village (see Appendix 6, Case 27). Possibly her religion, as well as her

unusually high level of education had made it impossible for her to find a suitable husband. Two other women, co-resident aunt and niece, aged 42 and 30 (living with a bachelor uncle of 52; see Appendix 6, Case 29), were also wealthy landowners[1]. The reason given by many villagers for the non-marriage of these women was the fact that they were believed to have been possessed by phi ka', a malevolent spirit thought to be contagious under conditions of intimate contact (see Chapter 9, p. 461, and Appendix 6, Case 25, footnote 1). Two other women both aged 48, lived in extended family households owning medium-sized plots of land (5 and 10 rai). Their non-marriage may have been partly the result of a desire to avoid excessive subdivision of the land in the following generation.

The remaining five women have interesting features in common which may be significant to their single status. All come from poor landless households and live with a widowed or divorced mother and/or sibling (in all but one case, a sister). Three of the five women were themselves the ritual officient or khon kao[2] (see Chapter 9, p.444) of their phipunya cult group, while a fourth lives with her mother who is the khon kao. Since only 20% of all households in the village include a khon kao this incidence is certainly worthy of note.

Thus, women who have remained unmarried after age 25, excluding those who are physically or mentally handicapped, seem to fall into two groups; one group is land-owning, in some cases members of the wealthy village elite, while the other group is extremely poor, with evidence of tightly-knit matrilateral kin groups.

Of the 27 men aged 30 and over who were still unmarried in 1973, all but 7 were under 40. One man had been a monk for over ten years. Two others were mentally retarded. Of the remaining 24, eight men lived in households owning small holdings of irrigated fields, six others were tenant farmers, and the remainder were day labourers. One feature

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[1] It is worthy of note that all five women marrying later than 23 years in Turton's study population (1976:107, Table 2.4.a), were from the richest category of households.

[2] Cult group elder.

common to more than half of these men, is that they were the only adult males of working age in their households, and were living with one or both aged parents or other elderly kin. This applies to 6 of the 8 men living in land-owning households. It would seem therefore that in such cases the need for male labour may have been a factor in their postponement of marriage. The other unmarried men, most of whom were living in landless households, may have been forced to postpone marriage because of their poor economic position. Although it is impossible to determine precisely the reasons for any one individual remaining unmarried, these common features may pinpoint some of the factors involved.

APPENDIX 5

The Stability of Marriage in Ban Pong

The stability of marriage and the frequency of re-marriage in a population can be important factors determining fertility levels since frequently interrupted periods of cohabitation, prolonged intervals between unions, and failure by a woman to re-marry while still of childbearing age can significantly reduce her reproductive potential. Stability of marriage in the Ban Pong population is discussed below bearing in mind the important implications for fertility. The discussion below will also touch upon a point of controversy in the literature, namely the influence of initial post-marital residence patterns on the incidence of divorce. Although beyond the scope of this discussion, it should be borne in mind that the incidence of divorce can impinge on other aspects of village life such as the maintenance of compound groups and of reciprocal labour groups, or the inheritance of land.

Despite the lack of elaborate ritual, or the payment of a high bride-price, in general marriages in Ban Pong are stable. Of 390 women aged under 60[1], who had been married at some time, only 71, or 18.2% had ended their first marriage in divorce. As Wijeyewardene has pointed out (1967:68), the overall divorce figures for a community in Northern Thailand tend to be distorted by the existence of a minority of 'divorce prone' individuals. Of the 71 women mentioned above, 12 were subsequently divorced a second time, and two for a third time. Figure 18 presents the marital histories of all ever-married women under 60 in Ban Pong. It is clear from the Figure that the majority of first marriages in Ban Pong are stable. Furthermore, re-marriage, following either divorce or death of the partner, is common. About 20%

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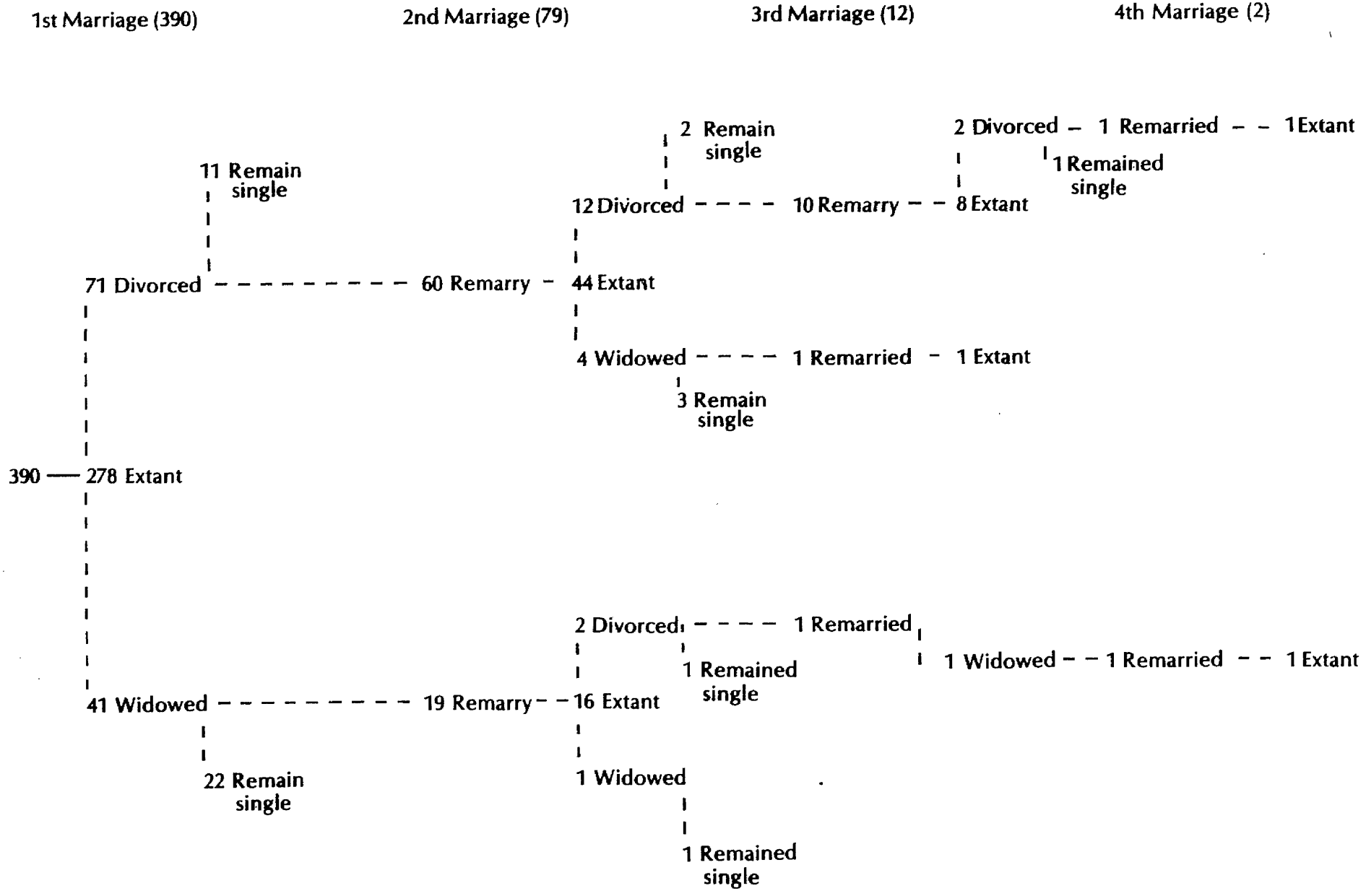
[1] Detailed marital histories were not recorded for women aged 60 or over.

Figure 18: Marital Histories of Ever-Married Women aged under 60 years, Ban Pong, 1973.



of men aged over 40 and women aged over 35 had been married at least twice (Table 72). Although women whose marriages have ended in the death of their spouses tend to re-marry less often than those women who had been divorced, this is probably due to the fact that women are more likely to be widowed at a much later age than those divorced, so that age is a more significant factor governing re-marriage than the outcome of the previous marriage.

The presence or absence of children does not seem to be a factor influencing re-marriage[1]. In 1973 for example, a widower marrying for the second time chose a widow in her late 40s who had 9 of her 11 children living with her. Another man, marrying for the first time in his early thirties, chose an older woman, already twice married and divorced, who had never been pregnant and was evidently infertile. However, the fact that both women were heirs to irrigated rice holdings, while both the new husbands were from landless families, is likely to have significantly enhanced their desirability as marriage partners.

Like marriage[2], the process of divorce is a relatively unstructured and private matter. If the aggrieved party is living in the home of the spouse's parents, or in the house of the spouse, he or she may simply leave and, in many cases, return to his or her parent's home. Alternatively, if the aggrieved party (usually in such cases a woman) is living in her own, or her parents' home, a fairly common way of instigating a divorce is for the woman to go, preferably away from the village, for a few weeks, sending a message through her male kin to let her husband know that she wants to end the marriage. The man will usually leave promptly to avoid loss of face, and the wife can then return having avoided a potentially embarrassing public confrontation.

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[1] Wijeyewardene (1967:68), makes a similar observation.

[2] See Chapter 9, Section 9.1.

Table 72

Number of Marriages by Age and Sex,
Ever-married Individuals, Ban Pong, 1973
(% of ever-married in age group)

(a) MALES

Current Age Group	Number of times married				
	Once	Twice	3 times	4 times	5 times or more
15-19	100.0%	-	-	-	-
20-24	94.1	5.9[1]	-	-	-
25-29	97.2	2.8[1]	-	-	-
30-34	88.5	7.7	3.8	-	-
35-39	83.4	13.0	1.8[1]	1.8[1]	-
40-44	74.0	19.1	4.1	1.4[1]	1.4[1]
45-49	71.2	25.4	-	3.4	-
50-54	69.7	21.2	3.0[1]	6.1	-
55-59	86.0	5.6	2.8[1]	-	5.6
60-64	53.5	25.0	14.3	3.6[1]	3.6[1]
65-69	80.0	15.0	2.5[1]	-	2.5[1]
70 plus	57.1	20.6	8.6	-	5.7
All Age Groups	77.3	15.9	3.6	1.6	1.6

(b) FEMALES

Current Age Group	Number of times married				
	Once	Twice	3 times	4 times	5 times or more
15-19	92.3%	7.7[1]	-	-	-
20-24	97.6	2.4[1]	-	-	-
25-29	88.4	7.0	2.3[1]	2.3[1]	-
30-34	80.4	17.0	1.8[1]	-	-
35-39	73.7	19.3	5.3	1.7[1]	-
40-44	78.2	16.0	5.8	-	-
45-49	72.5	19.6	3.9	2.0[1]	2.0[1]
50-54	75.5	20.7	1.9[1]	1.9[1]	-
55-59	65.2	30.4	4.4[1]	-	-
60-64	76.9	23.1	-	-	-
65-69	63.2	21.0	15.8	-	-
70 Plus	65.8	31.6	2.6[1]	-	-
All Age Groups	77.7	17.8	3.5	0.8	0.2

[1] Refers to a single individual.

It was noted in Chapter 9 (p.424) that many marriages in Ban Pong are formed between men and women whose families are both resident in the Village. Consequently people from broken marriages commonly continue to live in the same community as their former spouse. Although temporary antagonism was evident in a few cases of recently separated couples, in general former spouses maintain comparatively good relations with one another. Following divorce children generally remain with their mother, though the father often retains an active interest in them, particularly if he is living nearby. Although there were a few cases of a woman having run away leaving her husband to bring up their children alone, such cases were fairly exceptional.

In general, the rule for subdivision of property following divorce is for each partner to retain their sin doem ('original wealth', meaning property owned prior to marriage, or inherited after marriage), while anything acquired jointly after marriage, sin somarot ('marriage wealth'), is divided equally[1]. Variations of this rule occur in cases where a marriage has been registered, but as we have seen, registration of marriages is rare, generally occurring only in cases where one or both partners owns a considerable amount of land, inevitably requiring the power of law to govern the division of property following divorce[2].

The majority of divorces in Ban Pong occur during the first three years of marriage[3]. Unfortunately, detailed marital histories were not collected for males, but Table 72, showing the number of times married, and Table 73, showing current marital status for both sexes by age indicate that the marital experience of men and women do not differ radically. A slightly larger proportion of men had been married more than twice, but the difference is minimal. In other words, one might reasonably assume that the detailed marital histories for women in Ban Pong would not differ significantly from those of men in the Village.

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[1] See Turton (1976:278).

[2] See Appendix 6, Case 22. Also Turton (ibid:300).

[3] See Turton (ibid:298).

Table 73

Current Marital Status by Age and Sex, Ban Pong, 1973
(% of age group)

(a) MALES

Current Age Group	Marital Status Never married	Currently married	Divorced	Widowed
15-19	98.1	1.9	-	-
20-24	79.3	20.7	-	-
25-29	35.1	61.4	3.5	-
30-34	18.8	73.4	4.7	3.1
35-39	14.3	84.1	1.6[1]	-
40-44	3.9	89.6	2.6	3.9
45-49	1.7[1]	90.0	1.7[1]	6.6
50-54	2.5[1]	88.2	2.9[1]	5.9
55-59	2.5[1]	75.0	2.5[1]	20.0
60-64	3.2[1]	71.0	3.2[1]	22.6
65-69	-	75.0	5.0[1]	20.0
70 plus	-	37.8	8.1	54.1
All age groups	38.6	52.3	2.2	6.9

(b) FEMALES

Current Age Group	Marital Status Never married	Currently married	Divorced	Widowed
15-19	92.0	7.4	0.6[1]	-
20-24	45.3	48.0	4.0	2.7
25-29	8.3	87.5	-	4.2
30-34	3.4	93.2	3.4	-
35-39	6.6	86.8	3.3	3.3
40-44	4.1	78.1	5.5	12.3
45-49	7.3	81.8	9.1	1.8[1]
50-54	5.3	73.3	1.8[1]	19.6
55-59	-	91.3	-	8.7
60-64	-	50.0	-	50.0
65-69	-	40.0	5.0[1]	55.0
70 plus	-	21.0	-	79.0
All age groups	29.1	56.2	2.7	12.0

[1] Refers to a single individual.

Following the example of Wijeyewardene (1966:39), I have constructed a marriage duration table for all ever-married women under 60 in Ban Pong (Table 74), using a procedure proposed by Barnes (1967).

Table 74

Duration of Marriage, Ever-married Women under 60, Ban Pong, 1973
(Total no. of marriages analysed = 385)

	Duration of Marriage	Current Marriage	Cumulative Current Marriages	Widowed	Cumulative Widowed	Divorced	Cumulative Divorced	Extant Marriages at end of period	% Marriages ending in Divorce	Cumulative Risk of Divorce
End of Year	1	9	9	2	2	23	23	351	6.0%	6.0%
	2	12	21	4	6	13	36	322	3.7	9.7
	3	12	33	2	8	14	50	294	4.3	14.0
	4	11	44	1	9	1	51	281	0.3	14.3
	5	7	51	0	9	5	56	269	1.8	16.1
	6	5	56	1	10	2	58	261	0.7	16.8
	7	11	67	0	10	0	58	250	0.0	16.8
	8	7	74	1	11	4	62	238	1.6	18.4
	9	11	85	2	13	0	62	225	0.0	18.4
	10-14	44	129	6	19	5	67	170	2.2	20.6
	15-19	42	171	8	27	2	69	118	1.2	21.8
	20-24	43	214	5	32	1	70	69	0.8	22.6
	25-29	30	244	6	38	0	70	33	0.0	22.6[1]
	30-34	17	261	2	40	0	70	14	0.0	22.6[1]
	35-39	9	270	0	40	0	70	5	0.0	22.6[1]
	40-44	4	274	1	41	0	70	0	0.0	22.6[1]

[1] Since no divorces were reported for marriages studied after 25 years' duration, the risk of divorce is unknown, but it is unlikely to be higher than the figure given.

Although the population examined here differs slightly from that analysed by Wijeyewardene (who included all ever-married men and women in South Village), it appears that marriage in Ban Pong is very much more stable than in South Village. Even if a degree of under-reporting of divorces early in marriage had occurred in my survey, it is unlikely to have been of sufficient magnitude to explain the three-fold discrepancy between my figure of 22.6% divorced after 20 years of marriage and Wijeyewardene's figure of 67% after 21 years. In order to see if the difference can be accounted for by a methodological bias in Barnes' model, I have re-worked Wijeyewardene's figures for women to calculate various divorce ratios suggested by Barnes (ibid:61), and compared them with the ratios for Ban Pong women (Table 75).

Table 75

Divorce Ratios: Women in Ban Pong and South Village

Ratio	Ban Pong (under 60)	South Village (all ages)
a) $\frac{\text{No. divorces}}{\text{all marriages}}$	$\frac{87}{483} = 18.0\%$	$\frac{38}{86} = 44.2\%$
b) $\frac{\text{No. divorces}}{\text{divorced + widowed}}$	$\frac{87}{134} = 65.0\%$	$\frac{38}{52} = 70.1\%$
c) $\frac{\text{No. divorces}}{\text{marriages - widowed}}$	$\frac{87}{436} = 19.9\%$	$\frac{38}{70} = 54.3\%$

Wijeyewardene points out (1966:36), that marriages ending in the death of a spouse had probably been under-represented, which could account for the slightly higher ratio for women in South Village for ratio (b). However, the other ratios show enormous differences, of a similar degree to the differences between cumulative risk of divorce, which can not readily be explained. It must be concluded that in comparison with South Village, marriage in Ban Pong is extremely stable. The extent to which either population is typical of villages elsewhere in Northern

Thailand[1], and the reasons for such vast differences between the two communities, will only be resolved when further studies on this topic have been conducted[2].

One factor suggested by Wijeyewardene, which might influence stability of marriage, is the choice of initial post-marital residence (1966:41). He argues that couples living either uxorilocally or virilocally following marriage are less likely to divorce than those setting up their own households. He attributes this assumed difference to the fact that residence in an extended household tends to postpone the time at which a young couple must take on the full responsibilities of running a home, and the attendant pressures. Furthermore Wijeyewardene suggests that couples residing virilocally are more likely to remain together than those residing uxorilocally, since virilocal residence occurred most commonly in cases where the young man's parents owned irrigated fields, thus providing him with greater economic security (ibid:42).

Turton's comments on this aspect of divorce are somewhat difficult to interpret. He writes:

> '...locally born people (male and female) who reside locally after marriage are less likely to divorce than "outsiders", and...(that) locally born women who reside locally after marriage are in addition more than twice as likely not to experience divorce than locally born men.' (1976:298. My emphasis).

His data would be more readily interpreted were they to be divided into endogamous or exogamous marriages. However, the fact that he attributes the differences to the sanctions operating against divorce within close local kinship relations, particularly in the case of locally born women,

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[1] Turton estimates that '(a)pproximately one person in three, male and female, are likely to experience divorce' (1976:298), a rate which falls in between those found for Ban Pong and South Village. He also notes that in most cases there is only one divorce, and that is most likely to occur during the first three years of the first marriage.

[2] Wijeyewardene (personal communication, 1979) suggests that the differences in our data on divorce may be the result of two factors: first, his use of a village man as assistant in this investigation may have helped to uncover a greater number of 'youthful peccadilloes' than my own survey, and second, that Ban Pong's greater proportion of 'better class' individuals may make them less 'free and easy' about their sexual arrangements.

probably indicates that his data support the argument that matri-locality is likely to operate against divorce.

Potter on the other hand argues that uxorilocal residence is a significant factor influencing the break-up of early marraiges because of the 'brittle' nature of the relationship between the newly in-married son-in-law and his wife's family (1976:47). Cases of divorce occurring early in marriage of couples in Ban Pong do not vary significantly in their initial residence patterns, when compared to those couples whose marriages had continued. However, conflict between a man or woman and his/her parents-in-law was often given as the main reason for a couple leaving a particular parental home at an early date following marriage and moving either to live with other kin or to set up an independent household.

However, an old village maxim presented below, as cited by a number of elderly informants in Ban Pong, gives some support to Potter's assertion by suggesting that the maintenance of strong ties between an in-marrying male with his own family, can weaken his relationship with his wife:

ti kǫng khaeng fa khi ma khaeng ta'wan
hak poen sia tua hak mae phua sia luk pai

'A gong can never match the sound of thunder.
A rider on horseback can never catch the sun.
You may love your husband with all your soul,
But if he loves his mother you will never win his heart.'

If Turton is correct in his assertion, that post-marital residence was predominantly uxorilocal in traditional Northern Thai society (see Chapter 9, p.421), such problems would no doubt have been quite common in the past.

APPENDIX 6

Case Studies of Major Land-owners in Ban Pong

The following eleven case studies are presented here in order to expand on the data given in Chapter 7 (pp.308-313) concerning the strategies adopted by a minority of households in Ban Pong in their accumulation of large land holdings, and the maintenance of their position of economic power within the community. The case studies fall into four groups. The first group (Cases 20-23) have a number of characteristics in common with Cases 3-6 which were described in Chapter 7, the most important of which is that they had all begun by accumulating considerable capital from trading in miang, which enabled them subsequently to buy large holdings of irrigated land in the Valley. Three of these landlords were migrants to Ban Pong (Cases 20, 21 and 22) and two of them had begun to establish themselves as important land-owners in the Village in the 1920s and 1930s (Cases 20 and 21). Case 24, also a migrant to Ban Pong, differs from the first group in that this landlord had accumulated capital to buy irrigated fields on the basis of trading in rice and exotic fruits during the 1930s and 1940s. The third group (Cases 25 and 26) includes two households whose process of land accumulation had begun with an inheritance of land in the Valley, which was later added to by further holdings bought with the proceeds of miang sales. The fourth group (Cases 27-30) are distinct from all other cases presented here in that they all have inherited land which has not been added to. Although in two of these cases (Cases 27 and 30), the parents of the present owners had been involved in the miang trade, none of them have been involved in such commercial endeavours themselves. In three cases the land has been retained as joint holdings either between siblings (Cases 29 and 30), or by an aunt on behalf of her young nieces and nephews (Case 27). In Cases 28 and 30, the land is farmed by the owners themselves. In all other cases presented here the land is rented out to tenants. A final point of interest here concerns the ownership of Village rice mills. In 1974 there were four mills in Ban Pong, one owned by Case 22, a second by Case 24, a third by the son of Case 25 and the fourth by the brother of Case 27.

Case 20: Phǫ Nǫi Oo Phromathet, House No.198 : Landlord and Phǫ Liang Miang[1]

Phǫ Nǫi Oo came to Ban Pong at the age of 30 in 1920 from Mu'ang District in Chiengmai, attracted by the possibilities of the miang trade. In two or three years he had bought a number of miang orchards in Chieng Dao, and constructed several large fermentation pits (see Chapter 8, p.365) in his house in Ban Pong. His second wife, Mae Ui Di came from the same village in Mu'ang District as Phǫ Nǫi Oo, and had moved to Ban Pong in 1923 to join her older sister Oei (House No.196), who had come two years earlier following her marriage. During the 1920s and 1930s, Phǫ Nǫi Oo bought a total of 33 rai of irrigated fields in the valley in addition to his extensive miang orchards. He married Moe Ui Di in 1950 after both of them had been widowed. Phǫ Nǫi Oo's younger daughter by his first wife[2], Ping Phromrangsii, lives close by (House No.199), while his son and elder daughter live permanently in pa miang, managing their father's orchards. Moe Ui Di's two daughters also live nearby (House Nos.198/1 and 197), the younger of whom, Kaeoma Kǫnthǫng, owns 14 rai of miang orchards. Although Phǫ Nǫi Oo's miang trading enterprises have now been taken over by his son, daughter and step-daughter, he is still known as phǫ liang miang ('miang patron') among villagers in Ban Pong. His 33 rai of irrigated fields are farmed by 4 tenant households, three beng khru'ng and one kin kha hua na (see Chapter 7, p.320).

Case 21: Phǫ Nǫi Mǫi Candi, House No.117 : Landlord and miang orchard owner

Phǫ Nǫi Mǫi came to Ban Pong in 1913, at the age of 15, with his parents and five siblings, from Ban Huang Sing in Mu'ang District of Chiengmai. As a young man he worked in pa miang and laid claim to a 5 rai miang orchard. His parents cleared a 24 rai irrigated holding in the Valley, and following their deaths in 1945, this was divided into equal shares of 4 rai among the six children. (Only Phǫ Nǫi Mǫi, and his elder brother Phǫ Nǫi Kham in House No.99, are still alive). On the proceeds of his trading in miang, Phǫ Nǫi Mǫi was able to buy two plots of irrigated land in the 1930s. He subsequently bought a further two plots which, together with his inheritance, made up his present-day holding of 44 rai.

In 1974 Phǫ Nǫi Mǫi was living with his youngest daughter and her family, together with seven other grandchildren (children of his sons and daughter in pa miang). His irrigated land in the Valley is farmed jointly by three of his daughters and their husbands (in House Nos.117, 117/2 and 104), on a beng khru'ng basis, while his two sons and another daughter, living in pa miang, jointly manage his miang orchards. His son-in-law, Di Bunmak, is one of Ban Pong's representatives to the Irrigation Association (see Appendix 7), and his oldest grandson, Prakǫp Khantha'wanit, is a tobacco field inspector for a curing factory in neighbouring Sanmahaphon Sub-district.

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[1] 'Miang patron', see Chapter 8, Section 8.8.

[2] Phǫ Nǫi Oo and his first wife were cousins ('luk phi luk nǫng kan'), See Chapter 9, pp.418-420.

Case 22: Nai Kǫngkaeo Wantha, House No.225 : Landlord, Phǫ Liang Miang and Rice Mill Owner

Nai Kǫngkaeo was born in Ban Pa Kham, Mu'ang District in Lamphun, in 1919. He moved to Ban Pong with his parents and siblings in the early 1940s. His parents had sold their 5 rai in Lamphun because their fields no longer received sufficient irrigation water since the construction of a new dam. At that time, land in Ban Pong was considerably cheaper than in Lamphun and his parents were able to buy 7 rai. His mother, Mae Ui Kiang Wantha (House No.143), still owns this land. Kǫngkaeo established himself as a trader soon after his arrival in Ban Pong, selling rice and miang. By 1950 he had bought his first plot of irrigated land, and soon after bought several more, totalling 46 rai. By 1960 he had also bought 10 rai of miang orchards, and a rice mill in the north of the village[1].

His first wife, Bunphan, the daughter of another migrant from Lamphun (House No.181), had five children, the youngest of whom is now the wife of kamnan Montri (see Case No.5, Chapter 9, p.312, and Figure 14). In 1964 the couple were divorced, and Bunphan received half of the 46 rai[2]. She immediately sold the land, and moved to Fang with her four older children. There she was able to buy a much larger holding because of the lower land prices in that District, and also a rice mill.

In 1968 Kǫngkaeo married Nang Fǫngkaeo, a kinswoman[3] whose first husband had recently died. Fǫngkaeo, who was born in Ban Pong in 1929, has never been pregnant. In January 1979, Kǫngkaeo was found dead by his wife, having been shot through the head[4]. His will, written some years before his divorce, in which he had bequeathed all his property to his first wife and their children, had not been changed. A few weeks following his death his two eldest sons returned from Fang and took over the house, the management of his land, and his trading activities. Fǫngkaeo, having received no part of the inheritance, was obliged to leave the house and return to live with her aunt and uncle nearby (House No.202. See Case 19, Chapter 8, p.388).

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[1] This was the first rice mill to have been built in Ban Pong, in the early 1950s, by a Chinese merchant known as 'Cek Yǫng' who had lived for a time in the village.

[2] On divorce, property owned by either party prior to marriage (sin doem) reverts to the original owner, but all possessions, including land, bought after marriage (sin somarot) must be divided equally. (See Appendix 5, and Turton, 1976:300-301).

[3] It is interesting to note that Kǫngkaeo and his second wife were 'na le' lan kan hang hang' (i.e. she was the daugher of his father's elder brother's son). Such an inter-generational marriage, according to Turton, falls into the category of khu't (taboo), and the violent demise of one or other party would therefore be seen as rightful supernatural retribution (1976:259-262).

[4] It was rumoured that Bunphan and her four oldest children, anxious in case Kǫngkaeo should change his will in favour of his second wife, had hired someone to kill him.

Case 23: Nai Suwan Chaimani[1], House No.261 : Landlord and Phǫ Liang Miang

Nai Suwan and his wife Nang Can were both born in Ban Pong in the mid-1930s. Suwan's father, Phǫ Cǫm Chaimani (House No.105) owns a 9½ rai irrigated holding in the Valley, and has long been involved in the miang trade. Since their marriage in 1956, Suwan and his wife have also been involved in the miang trade, and have built up a herd of 16 oxen which are used to transport miang from the hills. In 1963 they bought a 20 rai miang orchard in Chieng Dao, which is now rented out to two tenant households living in the hills. They bought their first plot of irrigated land in the Valley in 1966, and by 1974 had built up a holding of 35 rai. The first plots they bought were in the vicinity of Ban Pang Kwang, several kilometres northwest of Ban Pong (see Map 2), where the land was much cheaper. More recently they have sold these plots and bought more productive fields closer to home.

Their irrigated fields are cultivated by four tenant households on a kin kha hua basis. They have three children[2], all currently attending secondary school in Mae Taeng.

Case 24: Phǫ Intha and Mae Buaphan Panthana, House No.90 : Landlord, Trader and Rice-mill Owner

Phǫ Intha came to Ban Pong in 1918, as a boy of 12, from Mae Rim, with his parents. His parents worked all their lives as tenant farmers. Mae Buaphan came to Ban Pong in 1928, as a girl of 15, with her parents and her elder sister's two orphaned children, from Mu'ang Rang in Mu'ang District of Chiengmai. Her parents bought a 12 rai irrigated holding in the Valley. When they died the holding was divided between Mae Buaphan and her nieces. The older of the two nieces sold her share to the younger, Nang Can Chaimani[3] (House No.131), and shortly afterwards Mae Buaphan also sold her share to Nang Can, so that the original holding has remained intact.

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[1] Suwan is the son of kamnan Montri's mother's elder sister's daughter (See Figure 14, p.310).

[2] Nang Can was one of the first women in Ban Pong to have used contraception, on the advice of a doctor in a private clinic in Chiengmai. She first used a diaphragm and spermicide in 1961 after the birth of her third child, and later changed to the pill which she has used ever since.

[3] Nang Can's mother had died shortly after giving birth to her. Nang Can, afraid of meeting a similar fate, ended her marriage after only 4 months and has lived alone ever since.

In 1931 Mae Buaphan married her first husband and had two sons. Her husband died soon after the birth of the younger son, and in 1944 she married Phǫ Intha. They had no children, but Phǫ Intha adopted her sons. Phǫ Intha had made his living, as a young man, trading in rice, and in exotic fruits such as lamyai (longan), lin ci (litchi), mango and jack-fruit, grown on a 6 rai garden plot which he had cleared along the outer bank of the canal. He bought his first irrigated fields in the early 1950s, two plots of 4 and 8 rai. A year or two later he built a rice mill in his own house compound, near to the central village temple (see Village Map). In 1958 he helped his elder step-son, Khampan Panthana (House No.103) to buy a 35 rai miang orchard in Chieng Dao, and in the early 1960s, he increased his own holding of irrigated fields to 31 rai, with the purchase of three more plots. This land is now rented out to six tenant households on a kin kha hua basis. Phǫ Intha's rice mill, favourably situated in the centre of Ban Pong, continues to be one of his most profitable concerns.

He and his wife are referred to as 'phǫ liang' and 'mae liang' by the villagers, and are regarded with considerable respect and affection in Ban Pong. Phǫ Intha was deputy headman, and later deputy kamnan, to Phǫ Kamnan Mao (see Case 6, Chapter 7, p.313), for many years until his retirement in 1973. Mae Buaphan is very actively involved in fund-raising activities at the Central Ban Pong temple, and at funerals she is always at the head of the procession leading to the cremation ground.

They plan to bequeath their land in three shares to Mae Buaphan's two sons, Khampan[1], and Bunloet, a trader who lives in Chiengmai city, and to Bunloet's eldest son, Khru Phra'yat, a teacher at the school in Ban Wang Deng, who has lived with his grandparents since childhoold.

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[1] Nai Khampan Panthana (born 1932) is also becoming a prominent member of the village community. He is secretary of the central Temple Committee, and a money lender, giving loans at 3% per month (1973-74, considerably lower than the rate given by Kamnan Mao). In addition to his 35 rai miang orchard, he owns an 8 rai irrigated holding in the Valley, bought in 1971, which he rents out on a kin kha hua basis.

Case No.25: Mae Ui Niu Cantr'phian, House No.115 :
Major Landlord, wife of former Phǫ Liang Miang

Mae Ui Niu was born in Ban Pong in 1895. Her parents had been among the first settlers in the village and had cleared 50 rai of irrigated fields. Following their deaths in the early 1920s, Mae Ui Niu and her elder brother (see Case 29 below and Figure 19) each received 15 rai, while their younger sister (who later sold her land and left Ban Pong), received 20 rai. In 1913 Mae Ui Niu married Phǫ Lung Kaeo, a migrant from Ban Thi in Lamphun Province, who had bought a miang orchard and set himself up as a miang trader soon after his arrival in the Village. After their marriage, Mae Ui Niu and Phǫ Lung Kaeo bought up numerous holdings in the Valley which, together with her inheritance, eventually totalled more than 100 rai.

Phǫ Lung Kaeo, who also established one of the four rice mills in Ban Pong, soon earned the nick-name of 'Kaeo sethi' (Kaeo the rich man) because of his exceptional wealth[1]. At his death in 1963, he bequeathed 54 rai to their five children, including a daughter Chumcai, who lives with her mother, and a son Som, who lives next door (House No.114), the remainder being Mae Ui Niu's until her death. His miang orchards were bequeathed to Som, and the rice mill to Chumcai and her husband, Duangkaeo Yingyǫt. The other three children have all since sold their land and left Ban Pong. The original 15 rai holding inherited by Mae Ui Niu is in a particularly favourable position, near the canal, and is one of very few holdings producing two rice crops a year (see Chapter 7, p.339). Mae Ui Niu's remaining holding of 50 rai is rented out to 6 tenant households on a kin kha hua basis.

In 1962, shortly after the birth of her second child, Chumcai was sterilised. Unfortunately, the baby died only a few months later[2]. Since her brother Som and his wife are childless, it would seem likely that Chumcai's daughter will eventually inherit what remains of her grand-parents' holdings.

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[1] Phǫ Lung Kaeo and his family, and that of his brother-in-law (see Case 29 below), were at one time suspected of harbouring a phi ka' ('greedy spirit'), an accusation often levelled at extremely wealthy villagers (see Irvine's discussion of phi ka' beliefs, n.d.). After the death of his wife, Mae Ui Niu's brother was ordained as a monk at the Aranyawiwek temple, and later held an exorcism for the entire family to rid them of the scourge of the phi ka'. Nevertheless, his son, daughter and grand-daughter never married, a factor attributed by other villagers to the continuing fear of the contagious nature of the spirit (see Appendix 4).

[2] Chumcai was the first woman in Ban Pong to have been surgically sterilised. The subsequent death of her baby son was rumoured to have been caused by the vengeful phi ka' spirit.

Figure 19: Genealogy for Case Nos. 25 and 29

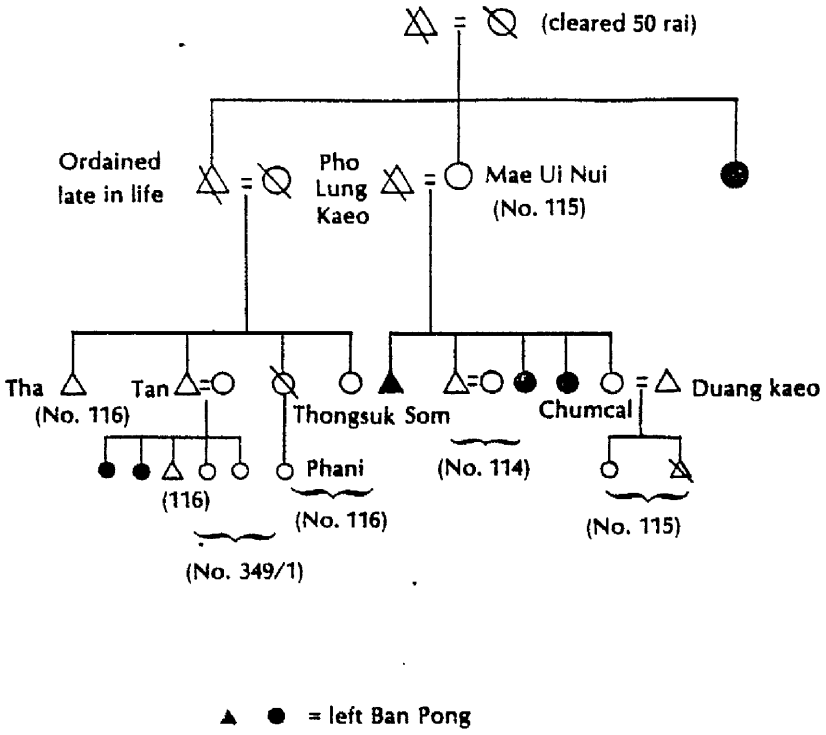
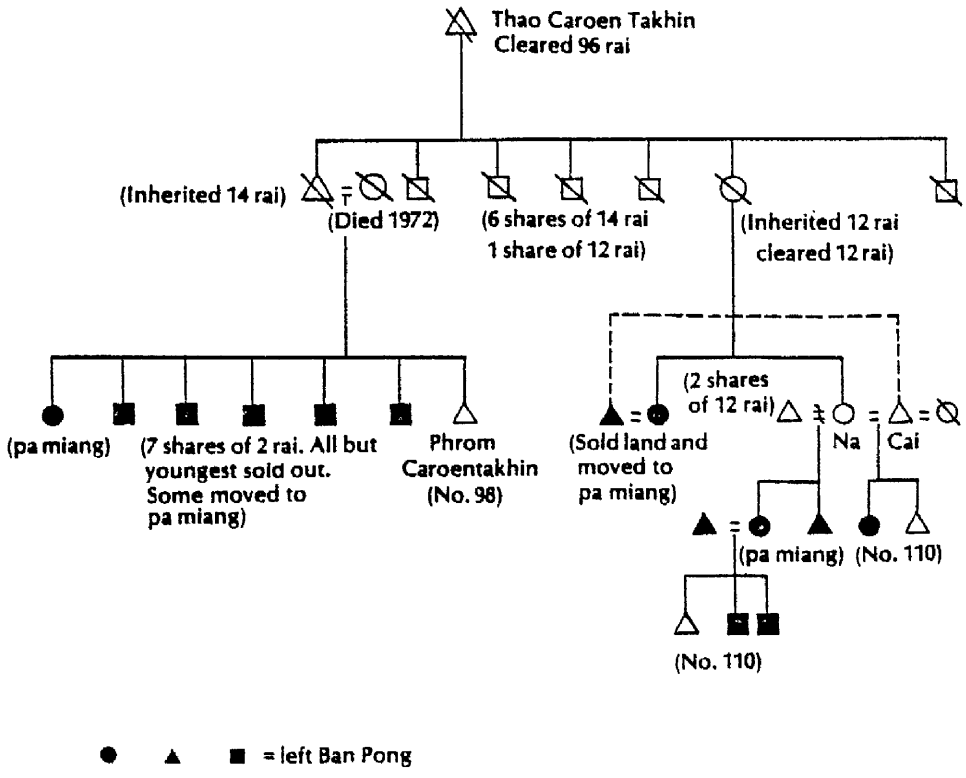


Figure 20 : Genealogy for Case No. 26



Case 26: Phǫ Cai and Mae Na Thaepawong, House No.110 : Landlords and Miang Traders

Phǫ Cai was born in Ban Pong in 1918 of landless parents. He inherited a 7 rai holding from his first wife who died in the late 1940s. His second wife, Na, is a granddaughter of Thao Caroen Takhin, leader of the first settlers to Ban Pong (see Chapter 1, pp.52-55). Thao Caroen cleared 96 rai in the Valley, and on his death, six of his children received inheritances of 14 rai, while his youngest daughter (Na's mother) received 12 rai and the parental home[1] (see Figure 20). Na's parents had already cleared 12 rai by that time, thus making a total holding of 24 rai, which was subsequently divided equally between their two daughters. Na's elder sister sold her share and left Ban Pong after their mother's death in 1946. By that time Na was 28, and had divorced her first husband with whom she had had two children. After a second marriage which lasted less than a year, she married Cai in 1953, and had two more children. Shortly after their marriage Na and Cai bought a further 6 rai, making a total holding of 25 rai. A few years later, they bought a 30 rai miang orchard in Chieng Dao. Mae Na's son and daughter by her first husband now live in pa miang, working on their mother and step-father's orchards. Her daughter by Phǫ Cai lives in Chiengmai whilst attending secondary school, and their son, aged 11, lives with them in Ban Pong. A grandson (oldest child of the daughter in pa miang) also lives with them and attends Ban Pong school. Their 25 rai holding in the Valley is rented out on a kin kha hua basis to three tenant households, while Phǫ Cai and Mae Na continue to work as miang traders.

Case 27: Phi Saeng In Sen'nan, House No.72 : Landlord. Daughter of former Phǫ Liang Miang

Phi Saeng In's father, Phǫ Suriya', came to Ban Pong from Lamphun with his wife and the first two of their eight children in 1917. They were the first Christian family to move into the village, and later financed the construction of a small wooden church in Ban Pong for use by other Christian families living in the Valley. For the first few years, Phǫ Suriya' worked in pa miang as a tenant, and later saved enough money to buy his own orchards. He soon became a major figure in the miang trade (see Van Roy, 1971:136-137) and, during the 1930s and 1940s, purchased a total of 75 rai of irrigated fields in the Valley.

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[1] Na subsequently inherited the parental home from her mother. House No.110, at the edge of the rice field, to the east of the temple, is on the site of one of the original houses built by the first settlers, (see Village Map). Inheritance of the parental home by the youngest daughter, found commonly in Northern Thailand, is discussed in Chapter 9 (pp.456, 473-474).

Of his eight children, the first two had died as infants, four had moved to live in the city, and only Phi Saeng In (who was born in 1921) and her elder brother Mǫ Srimun[1] (House No.9) have remained in Ban Pong. In 1953 Phǫ Suriya' bequeathed 19 rai of his land, and his rice mill in the centre of Ban Pong, to Srimun, who had recently married. Shortly before his death in 1964, Phǫ Suriya' entrusted his remaining 56 rai, as well as his miang gardens, to Phi Saeng In, on behalf of his ten grandchildren. The income from this property was to be used to pay for the education of his grandchildren. The land remains in the name of Phǫ Suriya', and will not be sub-divided until after the death of Phi Saeng In. It is farmed by 6 tenant households[2], all of whom work on a beng khru'ng basis. Phi Saeng In herself, bought 2 rai in the valley and a 6 rai orchard in pa miang in 1964. She has never married, but lives with two of her nieces, and a nephew. Her elder brother Bunloet, and a younger brother Manit, both of whom have their homes in Chiengmai, also stay with her from time to time. She has a small shop at the front of her house where she sells patent medicine.[3]

Case 28: Mae Ui Mot and Phǫ Ui Cai Ooteui, House No.69 : Owner-cultivators

Mae Ui Mot came to Ban Pong from Hang Dong District, with her parents, at the age of 10 in 1914. In 1922 she married her first husband, a migrant from Nan Province who had purchased 31 rai of irrigated fields in the Valley. They had five children, three of whom survived infancy and now live outside Ban Pong. On the death of her husband in the early 1950s, Mae Ui Mot inherited all of his land, to be held on behalf of their children. Two years later she married Phǫ Ui Cai, who was born in Ban Pong of landless parents. Mae Ui Mot and Phǫ Ui Cai then bought a plot of 4 rai to increase their total holding to 35 rai, sufficient to provide an adequate inheri nce for the three heirs. Instead of renting their land to regular tenants, Mae Ui Mot and Phǫ Ui Cai hire labour each year when needed. They add to their income by rearing pigs and chickens, and by renting out their three buffalo to other farmers.

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[1] After being an orderly in the army medical corps, Srimun became mǫ pra'cam tambon ('doctor' of the sub-district).

[2] All local Christian families.

[3] It is in Phi Saeng In's house that the family planning team from McCormick hospital has held their monthly clinic since 1967 (see Chapter 5). Phi Seng In sells contraceptive pills, on behalf of the team, and is frequently asked for advice on family planning, despite the fact that she has never been married (see Appendix 4).

Case 29: Nai Tha and Nangsao Thǫngsuk Kantsurya', and Nangsao Phani Chailoet, House No.116 : Joint landlords

Nai Tha, his sister Thǫngsuk, and their dead sister's daughter, Phani, were all born in Ban Pong. None of them has ever married[1]. Their brother Tan lives with his family in House No.349/1. Their paternal grandfather cleared 50 rai in Ban Pong, and their father (elder brother of Mae Ui Niu, see Case 25 above, and Figure 19, p.521), increased his 15 rai inheritance by buying a further 17 rai in the 1920s. When their father died in 1963, his 32 rai were inherited jointly by Nai Tha, his brother and sister, and their niece. The 15 rai plot is registered in the names of Nai Tha and Nai Tan, while the 17 rai plot is in the names of Thǫngsuk and Phani. Nai Tha, his sister and their niece rent their shares of the holdings (24½ rai) to three tenants, on a kin kha hua basis. Nai Tan farms his 7½ rai share himself, using reciprocal, and occasionally hired labour. His two oldest children have left the village, two others live with him, and his youngest daughter, aged 14, lives with Nai Tha. Thǫngsuk adds to her household's income by raising pigs and chickens, while Phani is a trained hairdresser with a 'salon' in the house.

Case 30: Phǫ Chum and Mae Thip Saenkaeo, and Nai Bun Caikham, House No.237 : Joint Owner-cultivators

Phǫ Chum, his wife Mae Thip, and her co-resident younger half-brother Nai Bun, were all born in Ban Pong. Nang Thip's younger brother, Kaeo Caikham (House No.236) and younger sister Kham Thabuan (House No.232) also live in the Village. A third sister has left Ban Pong. Their parents had bought 40 rai of irrigated fields in the early 1930s, with the profits from their miang orchards. Phǫ Chum's parents also owned a miang orchard, and he and Mae Thip had spent much of their youth working in the hills. They have no children, but Nai Bun (the son of his father's second wife) has always lived with them. He was married for two years, but is divorced, and has his daughter living with him.

In 1969, Mae Thip's father died, and his 40 rai holding was divided between the four children of his first wife, the three daughters receiving 11 rai each, and the son 7 rai. Kham, the youngest daughter, also inherited the parental home. Nai Bun, their half-brother, received no inheritance from his father. In 1970 Mae Thip's second sister sold her land and left Ban Pong. The following year Mae Thip, together with her brother and youngest sister, took pity on Nai Bun and each decided to contribute part of their inheritance to provide him with a holding of 7½ rai[2]. Mae Thip, having bought 4½ rai from her second sister, was left with a total holding of 12 rai. Thus she and her half-brother now owned 19½ rai between them. They farm the land themselves with the help of a luk cang (hired hand) who lives with them, using the reciprocal labour system, and hire additional help for transplanting and harvesting. In 1973, Phǫ Chum inherited his father's 3 rai miang orchard. To supplement the income from their land, Mae Thip runs a small store selling household items, at the front of their house.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 520.

[2] Thip and Kham each contributed 3½ rai, and Kaeo contributed ½ rai. Thus in 1974, Thip owned 12 rai, Kham and Bun 7½ rai each, and Kaeo 6½ rai, totalling 33½ rai of their father's original holding of 40 rai.

APPENDIX 7

Irrigation in Ban Pong Valley

The importance of highly organised, co-operative irrigation systems in the early development of lowland populations in the valleys of Northern Thailand, was emphasised in Chapter 1. Such systems, which date back more than a thousand years, persist more or less in their original form in many parts of the area today. A long-abandoned wier and canal system, unearthed by the first settlers in Ban Pong towards the end of the last century, may have originated in the time of King Mengrai (see Chapter 1, p.40). The old canal, known locally as mu'ang rọng kaen (the Kaen canal) was re-built by the new settlers, and now waters the fields worked by farmers from four villages in the west of the Valley, Ban Pa Ci and Ban Den in the north, and Ban Pong and Ban Hang Dong in the south (see Map 2).

The wier as it stands today, is on the original site across the River Ping near to the village of Thap Du'a in the far north of the Valley. It feeds two main canal systems, the first running southward down the western side of the Valley, and the other, to the east, through Ban Wang Deng, Ban Muang Kham and Ban Nọng Ọn. The western canal, the mu'ang rọng kaen, with which we are concerned here, runs for about 8 kilometres and, in 1974, watered a total of 2645 rai[1] (1,058 acres). Farmers using the canal system belong to an Irrigation Association, or mu fai (lit. 'wier group').

Distribution of water is organised by members of the Irrigation Association (luk mu fai) in each village using the system, under the supervision of their local representative (see Tanabe, 1981:284-294). The flow of water from the main canal is diverted into lateral canals and tertiary channels by the use of a series of sluice gates. Each individual field is then flooded via a wooden conduit passing through the surrounding

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[1] My informant was Nai Buntha Thainkham, of Ban Den, the Irrigation Chief, huana mu'angfai in 1974. His father, Nai Pan Thainkham, a former Irrigation Chief, had been responsible for the organisation of major re-construction work on the mu'ang rọng kaen system carried out in 1951-52, following severe floods (see p.528 below, footnote 1).

dyke. There is no rule as to which farmer should receive water first, though farmers with adjacent fields usually arrange to flood their fields at the same time and of course fields upstream are invariably given priority. If a particular farmer's field is not ready to be flooded, it is his responsibility to inform neighbouring farmers so that the water can be directed into other fields further down-stream. If a field has received insufficient water, this can be 'topped up' with water from adjacent fields by temporary removal of a section of dyke separating the fields.

All members of the Irrigation Association, both owner-cultivators and tenants, have a responsibility to the upkeep of the irrigation system[1], giving their labour each year at the time of the dredging and reinforcing of the mu'ang (canal), and necessary repairs to the fai (wier). Failure to fulfil this obligation is fined at a rate of 30฿ a day (which was equal to twice the daily labouring wage in 1974)[2]. Members are also required to supply various items needed for the periodic repair and maintenance of the wier and canal. According to Nai Buntha, Chief of the mu'ang rǫng kaen system in 1974, the standard contribution made by members of his group includes 35 lak fai (wier stakes)[3], 58 sawian (long woven baskets containing small broken stones), and an unspecified number of large stones.

In 1974, the Irrigation Association of Ban Pong and its three neighbouring villages, had a total of 199 members. The chief of the Association is elected by the members. He is not a government employee, and receives no salary. However, apart from receiving free water for up to 50 rai of his own land, and exemption from labour responsibilities, he also receives a share of the annual rice contributions given by owners and tenants of very

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[1] Tanabe has pointed out that membership of an irrigation group stems from water-rights which are held by the cultivator. Non-farming landlords play no part in the organisation of water distribution. (1981:276).

[2] Wijeyewardene (1966) mentions a fine of 10 Baht a day for failure to fulfil labour obligations in South Village in 1964-5. Such fines, and others imposed on farmers who abuse their water rights (see Tanabe, 1981: 294-297), are quite light when compared to the severe penalties laid down at the time of King Mengrai (see Chapter 1, p. 40).

[3] Tanabe describes a similar contribution made by members of the Nǫng Plaman Irrigation Group in Mæ Rim District (1981:300).

small plots who 'buy water' at a rate of 5 tang per rai instead of providing their labour[1]. The village representatives receive similar benefits in return for performing their administrative duties. The representatives of members in Ban Pong in 1974, were Nai Di Bunmak (House No.104), aged 40, married with two children and a tenant farmer working on 12 rai of his father-in-law's 44 rai holding (see Case 21, Appendix 6), and Nai Khampan Phromrangsi (House No.73/2, see Case 2, Chapter 5), aged 35, also married with two children[2], and a tenant working on his father-in-law's 9 rai holding.

The fields irrigated by the mu'ang rǫng kaen system are divided into three categories for the purpose of water management: the first, na tham kan (work rice fields), are those fields owned or worked by members who owe their labour to the Irrigation Association and who receive free water for holdings of up to 10 rai. The second category, na nam yok (water-grant rice fields), are those owned or worked by the Chief of the Irrigation Association and his village representatives who, as we have seen, are exempted from labour obligations and are allowed free use of water for up to 50 rai and 25 rai respectively. The third category, na khǫng klang (central group rice fields), are those owned or farmed by members in excess of 10 rai each, and are levied at a rate of 50 Baht per rai[3]. The proceeds of this levy (approximately 27,300 Baht in 1974) are kept as a reserve fund, by the Committee, for work on the wier and canal.

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[1] A similar system is described by Wijeyewardene for South Village which is also in Mae Taeng District (1966:52). Tanabe, on the other hand, reports somewhat different arrangements for the Nǫng Plaman Irrigation Group (1981:282-283).

[2] The wives of both representatives have been regular contraceptive users for several years. Nai Khampan's wife was surgically sterilised in 1973.

[3] In 1974, 66% of land watered by this system was na tham kam (1,749 rai), 13.3% was na nam yok (350 rai) and 20.7% was na khǫng klang (546 rai).

From time to time matters arise which require discussion by the Irrigation Association Committee and its members. In most cases the Association Chief invites the village representatives to a committee meeting at his home, but when more serious matters are at stake, all members attend a full meeting which is held at the dam site. One such meeting was held in late December 1973, to discuss the problems arising from violent floods during the previous rainy season, which had devastated much of the canal, caused major damage to the wier[1], and resulted in severe crop losses.

As is so often the case, farmers from the Southern village of Ban Hang Dong and those from Ban Pong with land in the south of the Valley, had suffered the most serious losses, and had in many cases harvested less than 25% of their normal yield, and in some cases none at all. Even in years of normal weather conditions the southern farmers fare less well than those in the north; they are always the last to receive water and, as was proved in 1973, they invariably receive the worst of the flooding in years of excessive, or ill-timed rainfall.

In 1973, conditions in Ban Pong Valley, and in many other parts of the Province, had been exceptionally bad. The first rains came later than usual and then came with such force that newly transplanted seedlings throughout the Valley were destroyed overnight. No sooner had the waters abated and the fields been transplanted for a second time, than another freak rainstorm occurred, again destroying seedlings in much of the Valley. By this time many of the poorer farmers had run out of supplies of seed for planting and were only able to sow their fields for a third time after emergency supplies had been provided by the Government. For many, the disastrous events of the season brought severe hardship, and nowhere was the problem more acute than in Ban Hang Dong.

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[1] The last occasion on which major reconstruction work had been required was in 1951 after severe flooding had caused widespread devastation. The floodwaters had overflowed the western banks of the canal, and reached as far as the main north-south road in Ban Pong, to the east of the central village temple (see Village Map). A small government grant was made towards the rebuilding work, but all labour came from the four villages using the canal.

The December meeting of the Irrigation Association was held to determine how the greatly diminished flow of water through the wier should be distributed for the coming dry season planting. The farmers from Ban Hang Dong and those from Ban Pong with fields in the south, many of whom had been forced to seek wage labouring work to buy rice for day-to-day subsistence, demanded that they should be given priority in receiving water to enable them to plant a dry season rice crop. Farmers from Ban Pa Ci, Ban Den, and the more fortunate from Ban Pong with fields in the north, many of whom had managed to harvest 50-75% (and in some cases, all) of their normal crop[1], claimed that they should receive the water in order to grow their usual dry season cash crops. The meeting became heated and tense, and many of the southern farmers had to be restrained from physical violence. Eventually a vote was taken, and the farmers of the north, much more strongly represented than those from the south, won the day.

In the following weeks, farmers who had failed to win the right to a share of the irrigation water attempted to gain some income from their land by digging field wells, using rented water pumps, or laboriously carrying buckets of water from village wells, to water crops such as snow peas, cauliflower, garlic, shallots and chilli, which have minimum water requirements.

The events of 1973-74 were undoubtedly largely attributable to the unusual pattern of rainfall. However two other factors are also likely to have contributed to the severity of the situation, both of which are related to the problem of increasing pressure on resources. In the first place, as Tanabe has pointed out:

> 'The unstable condition of the traditional mŭang fai system generally occurs when the expansion of the cultivated area exceeds the water supply capacity of the system. When this happens, water shortages and disputes within the mu fai, in particular between upstream and downstream, frequently occur.' (1981:100-101. My emphasis)

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[1] Of 122 Ban Pong farmers for whom data on 1973 yields, as well as average yields were available, 18% had harvested the full amount of average yield, 65% had harvested half or more, 35% had less than half and 6.5% had harvested nothing at all.

Such a strain on the water supply is, of course, most evident when abnormal weather conditions occur, as was the case in Ban Pong Valley in 1973. A second factor is the impact on the water-holding capacity of the soil in the uplands to the west of Ban Pong Valley resulting from the substantial clearance of scrub and forest which had been taking place since the late 1960s. (See Chapter 7, Section 7.9). In the opinion of Kamnan Montri and a number of other local informants, this was a major contributory factor in the 1973 flooding. Nevertheless, as I have noted, elsewhere (Ch.7, p.335, ft.3), the crisis which resulted from the flooding stimulated still more clearance of the uplands during the dry season 1973/74.

Post Script

Several years before my fieldwork, Phǫ Luang Man, a highly respected abbot from Chǫ Lae Sub-district, was meditating one evening beside the River Ngat, on the east of Ban Pong Valley[1]. He later reported that he had seen two strange children playing in the water, near the point at which the river enters the main Valley. The children, whose 'red staring eyes' betrayed their true identity as children of a nak ('naga', a legendary serpent with a human face), had run from the water moments later and 'escaped into the forest bearing flaming torches'. Phǫ Luang Man declared that their flight was not from him, but from 'the owner of the land', in other words, the King. In 1975, a group of villagers claimed that they had seen a phi (spirit) on the river, at the same spot as the nak children had been playing some years earlier. Again the phi was seen to flee into the forest. The curious villagers decided to consult a khon song (spirit medium), to investigate the meaning of these apparitions. The medium explained that the King himself would soon come to the Valley and would order the building of a huge dam across the River Ngat, at the point where it emerges from the mountains.

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[1] Informants were Khru Caroen and Khru Thǫnglian Atsana (House No.258).

Within a few months of the medium's prediction, King Bhomiphon of Thailand visited the Valley, and declared it a New Development Zone. The area was subsequently surveyed by engineers from the Royal Irrigation Department, and in 1977 work began on the construction of a large modern dam (60m high x 350m wide x 9m deep) across the River Ngat[1]. The dam lake will flood 14,000 rai in the Ngat Valley (including 4000 rai of farm land, and requiring the resettlement of 2000 people). The project is designed to serve a number of important functions. It is planned to provide year-round irrigation for total of 200,000 rai, 30,000 in Mae Taeng District (including Ban Pong Valley), 70,000 in the area of the Mae Faek Irrigation System, and 100,000 in Mu'ang District. In addition the scheme is to function as flood control for areas downstream to Chiengmai, and will provide up to 8000 kilowats of electricity, supplying villages within a 30km radius. Fishing in the reservoire is to be developed for commercial purposes as well as for local use. Finally, the area around the dam and the adjacent hillsides are to be turned into a National Park and Recreation Area, for tourists. The entire project has a budget of 615 million Baht, and during the construction phase 500 local villagers are to be employed by the Royal Irrigation Department. The dam was completed, on schedule, in 1980, and the canal system is to be put into operation by 1982.

The impact of this scheme, once fully operational, on social and economic patterns in the Valley, will provide a fascinating and important topic for future research.

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[1] Information is taken from a Royal Irrigation Department leaflet entitled khrǫngkan ang kep nam mae ngat ban mai tambon chǫ lae amphoe mae taeng cangwat chiengmai, dated 4th April 2521 (1978).

APPENDIX 8

Kham Khu'a - Courtship Verse

Several detailed accounts of Northern Thai courtship customs have appeared in the literature (Wijeyewardene, 1968; Chotisukharat, 1969; and Potter, 1976). One of the most distinctive features of traditional courtship in the Region was the use of 'ritual conversational dueling' (Potter, ibid:105), known locally as kham khu'a (lit. 'hearth' or 'kitchen' language). This special language of courtship is rarely used nowadays in Ban Pong, as it is considered by the young to be rather quaint and old-fashioned. In general courtship tends to be less structured than in former times, when groups of young bao (unmarried men) would roam around the countryside engaging the sao (unmarried girls) in conversation in an attempt to pick out a desirable partner.

Nevertheless, young men still enjoy wandering around in groups chatting to the girls and vying for their attention, albeit employing more modern forms of communication than those used by their fathers and grandfathers. Sometimes, seemingly more for fun than respect for tradition, young men and women exchange cheeky and provocative repartee, occasionally reviving some of the more popular traditional courtship verses learned from their parents. Although kham khu'a are said to have often been extemporaneous, they appear to have followed a fairly standard pattern, and in some cases identical sequences of exchange between hypothetical courting couples were repeated by a number of different informants. Some of the verses were charming and romantic, others harsh and full of reproach for a deceiving lover, but most popular of all were those expressing thinly-disguised physical desire. A few examples of the more common verses related by informants in Ban Pong are presented below:[1]

1. Young man: khai pluk dɵk salit tit ton salak
wan cɵng kh'un cieng foei
dɵk pao yam laeng baeng ban phai phoei
khai pluk ton pu loei kap poen ban ni

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[1] I am grateful to Richard Davis for his help in transliterating and translating these verses.

'I want to plant a cowslip creeper next to your
love tree,
to twist and entwine around your branches.
The pao[1] tree blooms despite the drought,
I want to plant a puloei[1] tree with the girl of this
house.

Young girl (self effacingly):

ban haeng din phong
ban kǫ song
phai bǫ khai khao

'This house is in the jungle, its a shabby house,
a dry house full of dust.
The house is isolated
no-one wants to come here.'

2. Young man (to a girl who has persistently denied having another lover):

mi bǫ mi phǫ si kǫ hu
nep dǫk ba ku sǫng bai
bǫ mi tae ka

'Whether you have a lover or not, anyone can tell
from your face.
You don't need to pick two flowers,
So just tell me the truth.'

Young girl: bǫ mi

'I don't have anyone'

Young man (angered by her persistent lie):

hu' luk tok fak
hu' mae tak gnai
tai klom tai phai
hu' tai lu'ad khu'n

'(if you are lying) may you fall unconscious after
giving birth, then
die a bad and fearsome death
may you die with your blood rising!'

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[1] Both these plants are important components in post-partum custom, see Mougne (1978).

3. Young man: ai[1] poen mi la ka

'Do you have a boyfriend then?'

Young girl: bɒ mi cao

'No, I don't.'

Young man: ta khu'n ni ai anyang han
nang sit nang si
pan buri sai thung su'a
khacai mu'a thung su'a ca' long

'So who was the fellow I saw here last night,
Sitting so close to you?
You were rolling cigars for him[2] and putting them in his pocket.
He had to rush away suddenly when his pocket reached bursting point!'

4. Young man: Poen mi laeo khai aem them sɒng
khi hu'a nam nɒng son sɒng cang lom

'You have a boyfriend already, you don't need two.
Just like two men riding[3] a boat in high waters,
They are bound to capsize.'

Young girl: hu'a lam ni pen hu'a samai
khi taodai man tu'ng bɒ lom

'This boat is a new and modern one,
Whoever many ride her, she won't capsize!'

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[1] Lit. 'elder brother', used by a young girl as a sign of intimacy with her lover, and later by a wife for her husband, regardless of their respective ages.

[2] Local hand-rolled cigars were often made by a girl for her lover, rolling with the palm of the right hand against the inside of the left thigh. The use of such traditional cigars by young men in Northern Thailand has now largely been displaced in favour of manufactured cigarettes (see Mougne et al:1982).

[3] As in English, the term in Thai has the connotation of sexual intercourse.

APPENDIX 9

Explanatory Notes

a) Language and System of Transcription

The language of Northern Thailand (kham mu'ang) is structurally similar to Central Thai (phasa klang), but it differs from Siamese in much of its vocabulary, its use (or non-use) of aspiration, and in the tonal systems of its various dialects. With the spread of the national education system and the growing intrusion of government bureaucracy and the media into rural areas, many of the distinctive features of kham mu'ang are gradually being eroded. In Northern Thailand the majority of the population under about age 60 are familiar with phasa klang, although kham mu'ang is still the language in everyday use. My own language training was in Central Thai, but within a few months of my arrival in Ban Pong I became familiar with the local dialect of kham mu'ang. In some cases informants used phasa klang in their discussions with me and consequently terms and quotations presented in the text include elements of both languages.

Kham mu'ang itself does not have a standard system of transcription into Roman, so I have used the General System devised by the Thai Royal Institute (1941:49-53) for the transcription of Central Thai, as summarised below.

Vowels

Italian vowels except that

ae = sound of ea in English 'bear'
ǫ = sound of aw in English 'dawn'
oe = sound of eu in French 'peuple'
u' = sound more open than German ü

The system does not differentiate between long and short vowels.

Consonants

English consonants except that

Initial k p t are unaspirated as in French
Final k p t are unexplosive and unaspirated
kh = k aspirated
ph = p aspirated - not English ph
th = t aspirated - not English t
ch = always as in English 'church'
ng = as in English 'singer', never as in 'linger'

I have added two modifications

c = unaspirated form of ch as the cz in 'Czech'
ny = nasal consonant as in Spanish ñ

Proper names of informants have been transcribed using this sytem, but in most cases conventional spellings have been used for place names.

b) Units of Measurement

Area Measure

4 ngan = 1 rai

1 rai = o.4 acre or 0.16 ha

Thus:

5 rai = 2 acres or 0.8 ha

10 rai = 4 acres or 1.6 ha

25 rai = 10 acres or 4 ha

100 rai = 40 acres or 16 ha

Volume Measure

1 tang = c.30 litres of unmilled rice (subject to local variations)

Weight Measure

1 tang = c.15 kg of unmilled rice (subject to local variations)

Currency

1 baht (฿) = 100 satang or 4 salu'ng

During fieldwork (1972-1974) the exchange rate varied between 40-45 ฿ = £1. Thus:

1 baht = 4-4.5 pence

Prior to about 1950, thaep (Indian rupees) were in circulation.

1 thaep = c. 8 baht.

c) Glossary of Thai Terms

This list contains the majority, but not all of the Central and Northern Thai words occurring in the text. More detailed definitions of many terms are given in the text. Exclusively Northern Thai terms are marked (N). Otherwise terms are common to both languages, or are Central Thai, but in everyday use in the North.

aeo(N)		visit
	aeo sao(N)	court visit a prostitute (colloq.)
ai(N)		elder brother term of address to lover or husband familiar prefix to male personal name
amphoe		district
anyang(N)		anything, what?
ao		take, want
	ao kan(N)	marry (colloq.)
ban		house, village
	mu ban	village
bao		young unmarried male
	cao bao	bridegroom
bap		sin, demerit
beng		separate, divide, share
	beng khru'ng	half share tenancy
	beng phi(N)	cult group fission
bip		squeeze
	bip tǫng(N)	abort
bǫ/ba(N)		no, not
bǫ(N)		interrogative particle
bun		merit
ca'		future particle
cang		hire
	luk cang	hired hand
	hap cang(N)	wage labour
cangwat		province
cao		lord, prince
	cao chiwit	'Lords of life'
cap		catch, take hold of
	cap cǫng	claim land for cultivation
cedi		sacred shrine, stupa
cha		tea
chang		elephant
cu'a(N)		germ, microbe
	cu'a rok(N)	origin, family line
	nam cu'a(N)	semen

dao		star
dek		child, infant
	dek wat	temple boy
doem		origin, beginning
dɵi		hill, mountain
dong		winnowing tray
du'an		month, moon
	pra'cam du'an	menstrual period
fai		fire
fai(N)		weir
haeng		dry
	mot luk haeng	sterile, post-menopausal
	tham haeng(N)	be sterilised (colloq.)
hai(N)		swidden, upland field
hai(N)		miang steaming cylinder
hang		distanced, separated, far apart
hing		shelf
hok(N)		placenta, afterbirth
hu'(N)		give
hua		head, front
	hua na	leader, chief, boss, manager
	hua pi	main season rice crop, also first miang harvest
	kha hua	tenancy payment in proportion of rice
hu'an(N)		house
ii(N)		familiar prefix for female personal name
kam		handful
kam(N)		prohibit, restrict
	yu kam (N)	be in post-partum period of seclusion
kamnan		sub-district headman
kan		together, reflexive particle
kan		work, ritual
kao		old
kao(N)		stem, trunk
	kao phi/khon kao(N)	cult group elder, ritual officiant
kat(N)		market
kha		value, price
	mae/phɵ kha	trader
khae(N)		threshing bench

khaek		guest
khai		fever
khai		sell
kham		word, speech
	kham khu'a	courtship verse
	kham mu'ang	Northern Thai language
khan		basin
	khan tang	offering bowl
khanom		bread, cake
	khanom cin	vermicelli, Chinese noodles
khao		rice
	khao cao	non-glutinous rice
	khao hai(N)	dry upland rice
	khao nu'ng(N)	glutinous rice
	khao phu'ak(N)	unmilled rice
	khao san	milled rice
khiao		sickle
khǫ		ask for, request, plead with
	su khǫ	ask for a girl's hand in marriage
khǫ		hooked climbing stick
khon		person
	khon hap cang(N)	wage labourer
	khon mu'ang(N)	Northern Thai person, people
	khon song	medium
khru		teacher
khru'ng		half
khu		threshing basket
khu		even, couple
	du'an khu(N)	even month (in Northern Thai calendar)
	khu somarot	married couple
khu'a(N)		kitchen, hearth
khu'ang(N)		equipment
khun		respectful title used before personal name
khu't(N)		taboo
khwai		buffalo
khwai		criss-cross, exchange
	khwai phi(N)	ritually exchange spirits at marriage
khwan		soul essence
kin		eat
klang		central, middle
		second miang harvest
	phasa klang	Central Thai language, Siamese

klap		return, reverse
koet/kamnoet		be born
	khum kamnoet	contraception
kratha'		pan
laeo		already, past particle
lak		post, stake, pillar
	lak fai	weir stake
	lak mu'ang(N)	focus of locality spirit cult
lamyai		longan
lan		million
	lannathai	early Northern Thai state
lan		grandchild, niece, nephew
lek		small
liang		nurture, feed, look after, sacrifice (to spirits)
	kin liang	feast
	liang phi	sacrifice, make offering to spirits
	phǫ/mae liang	patron, benefactor
linci		litchi
lom		wind, air one of the four humours
	lom phit du'an	post-partal illness
	pen lom	faint, ill as a result of imbalance of humoural wind
luk		child person
	luk khoei	son-in-law
	luk liang	adopted child
	luk saphai	daughter-in-law
lum		low, depressed, sunken
	lum miang(N)	miang fermentation pit
lun(N)		age group, generation
lung		uncle, parent's elder brother
mae		mother
mai		new
man		he, she, it
mat		tie
mia		wife
miang		camellia sinensis (Thea sinensis) wild tea plant fermented leaves of the wild tea plant

mɵ		doctor, ritual specialist
	mɵ chit	injection doctor
	mɵ du	fortune teller
	mɵ nuat	masseuse
	mɵ phi	spirit doctor
	mɵ pra'cam tambon	sub-district doctor
	mɵ tamyae	traditional midwife
monthon		circle, administrative unit
mɵp		bequeath, hand over
moradok		inheritance
	hap moradok	inherit
mot luk		womb
mu		group
	mu fai(N)	irrigation control group
	mu tɵp wan kan(N)	co-operative labour exchange group
mu'		hand
mu'ang		principality, territory, city, state
mu'ang(N)		waterway, canal
	mu'ang fai(N)	canal and weir irrigation system
mu'n		ten thousand
na		irrigated rice field
na(N)		parent's younger sibling
nai		master, owner title preceding male personal name, 'Mr'
nak		naga, mythical serpent
nam		water
	nam mon	sacrilised water
	nam mu'k(N)	tattoo
	nam nom	milk
	nam pla	fish sauce
	nam thuam	flood
nan		title preceding name of former monk
nang		title preceding personal name of married woman
	nang sao	title preceding personal name of unmarried woman
ngan		work, festival
ngoen		silver, money
niyom		popular, approved of by the people
	niyom kan	reach a consensus
nɵi		small
nɵi		title preceding name of former novice
nɵng		younger sibling
nyat(N)		bilateral kindred

pa		wild, forest, jungle
	pa miang	miang forest
	pa sanguan	state-owned forest reserve
pang(N)		temporary work camp in forest
panha		problem
pao(N)		Hydnocarpus anthelmintica Pierre ex Laness. (Flacourtiaceae). Water boiled with leaf of this plant is used for bathing by post-partum women
pha		slit, split, force open
pha		cloth
phai		commoners, free peasants
phak		region
phi		elder sibling
	luk phu phi phu nǫng	first and second cousins
phi		spirit
	phi diao kan(N)	kin sharing same ancestor spirit
	phi ka'(N)	'greedy' spirit
	phi phrai(N)	spirit of woman dying in childbirth
	phi punya(N)	ancestor spirits
	phi tai hong	spirit of person dying inauspiciously
	phi tai klom	joint spirit of mother and child dying in childbirth or pregnancy
phit		offend, do wrong, break (rule)
phiti		ceremony
phǫ		father
phra'		Buddhist monk title denoting royalty
phu		person, people
	phu rai	bandit
	phu yai ban	village headman
phua		husband
pi		year
pluk		establish, instil, plant
poen(N)		him, her, them
pra'cam		regular, permanent
pu loei(N)		Zingiber cassumunar Roxb. (Zingiberaceae) water boiled with root of this plant is drunk by post-partum women
Sabai		comfortable
saduak		convenient
sai		classifier for string, ropes
	sai sin	sacred thread
sai		lineage, descendants, issue

sakdina		feudal ranking system
saksit(N)		holy, sacred
sanuk		fun
sao		young unmarried female
	cao sao	bride
sawian(N)		woven basket
sethi		rich man
sia		spoil, decay, die
	kha sia phi	fee paid by bridegroom for offering to ancestor spirits marking marriage
sin		moral precepts of Buddhism
sin		wealth, property
	sin doem	wealth, property brought into marriage
	sin somarot	wealth, property obtained after marriage
somarot		marry
su'		buy
suan		garden, plantation, orchard
	suan miang	miang orchard
	suan pae(N)	upland field cut from dry deciduous dipterocarp forest
su'p		pass on to another (as of a condition or disease)
	su'p sai	continue a lineage
taeng		arrange, decorate
	taeng gnan	marry
tai		die
tambon		sub-district
tao		oven
	tao bung miang(N)	miang steaming oven
tat		cut off, sever
tem		full
thabian		register
thai		plough
thi		in quick succession, close together
thing		throw away, abandon
thu'		believe in, respect, celebrate (as of religious rite)
thung		bag

tɒng(N)		belly
tɒng		must, need to
tɒng tu'ng(N)		Dipterocarpus tuberculatus Roxb. the leaves of this tree are used for making roofing strips
tɒp		reply, respond
trakun		lineage, ancestral line of consanguinity
truat		examine, investigate
tu(N)		Buddhist monk
	tu/phɒ luang(N)	abbot
ui(N)		grandparent
	mae ui(N)	grandmother
	phɒ ui(N)	grandfather
wan		day
	wan phra'	Buddhist holy day
wat		Buddhist temple
winyan		soul
wong		circle
ya		grass, medicine
	ya khap	medicine to regulate menstruation
	ya khum kamnoet	contraceptive medicine (as pill or injection)
	ya rɒn	hot medicine, such as abortifacient
	ya sup	tobacco
yaek		separate, sever
	yaek kan	divorce
yai		big, large, tall
yen		cool
yu		stay, remain, be (in a place or position)

d) Glossary of Demographic Terms

GENERAL:

sex ratio	number of males per 100 females
dependency ratio	number of dependents per 100 population of working age
natural growth rate	births - deaths per 1000 midyear population
population growth rate	natural growth rate + net migration rate

REPRODUCTION:

fertility	performance in the production of livebirths
fecundity	capacity to produce livebirths
parity	number of living children
gravidity	number of pregnancies
nulligravid	state of never having been pregnant
menarche	first menstrual period of a girl at puberty
menopause	permanent cessation of menstruation
post-partum	following childbirth
post-partum amenhorroea	period of time following childbirth prior to resumption of regular menstruation
eligible woman	woman who is currently married and still menstruating
crude birth rate	number of births per 1000 midyear population
age-specific fertility rate	number of births experienced at specific ages per 1000 women in 5 year age groups
total fertility rate	sum of age-specific rates x 5
open birth interval	interval in months between last live birth reported by an informant and date of survey
acceptance rate	proportion of eligible women accepting contraception
continuation rate	proportion of contraceptive acceptors continuing use after specific period of time

MORTALITY:

crude death rate	number of deaths per 1000 midyear population
age-specific mortality rate	number of deaths occurring per 1000 people in 5 year age groups
infant death	death in first year of life
neonatal death	death in first month of life
perinatal death	death at time of birth
fetal/pregnancy wastage	conceptions which do not result in livebirths

MIGRATION:

net migration rate	in-migrants - out-migrants per 100 midyear population
migration ratio	number of inward movements per 100 outward movements
standardised turnover	sum of all inward and outward movements per 1000 population

e) Surveys

Quantitative data presented in this thesis are based on the following surveys conducted during fieldwork.

1. Household survey, March 1973 - 441 households
2. Fertility and family planning survey, March 1973 - 278 eligible women
3. Fertility and marital history survey, May 1973 - 89 non-eligible women under age 60
4. Fertility and birth custom survey, June 1973 - 68 women age 60 and over.
5. Land use survey, August 1973 - 141 land-owning households
6. Household survey, March 1974 - 460 households
7. Land tenure history survey, August 1974 - 460 households
8. Pa miang survey, April 1974 - 50 households

The Village Map was drawn in March 1973 prior to the first Household survey. New houses built during the following year were added later. House numbers on the map, and referred to in case studies in the text, are actual house numbers. Where no house number existed, the number of an immediately adjacent house was taken followed by /1, /2, /3 etc.

In the case of pa miang households, numbers presented in the text refer to the order in which they were interviewed.

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